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# THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Written in *Latin* by

QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS,

AND

Tranſlated into *Engliſh* by ſeveral Gentlemen in the Univerſity of *CAMBRIDGE.*

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TO THE

# QUEEN'S

MOST

EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

*MADAM,*

THE Endowments of Your Majeſty's Mind are ſuitable to the diſcerning Age in which You ſhine. An Age that has in great meaſure recovered that Solidity of Judgment, and true Senſe of Things, ſo much in Eſteem amongſt the Antients. This Improvement is viſible even in our Female Sex, particularly in their be-

ing leſs enamour'd on Romance, and ſo far in love with Truth and Reaſon, as to admit of Hiſtory for one of their Diverſions. Writers ſhould therefore take advantage of ſo favourable a Conjuncture, and furniſh them with all the Treaſures of ancient Hiſtory reduced to their own Language. Some Attempts of this kind have already found favourable Reception; and for a further Encouragement to ſuch Undertakings, Your Majeſties Patronage is moſt humbly implored for the Tranſlation of this excellent Author. The Perſon treated of is no leſs

than

than *Alexander* the Great: But so Sacred is Your Majesties Protection, that we dare not pretend to it on our Hero's behalf, without producing Credentials of such Merit as may recommend him to Your Favour.

From his Youth he discovered a Martial Disposition, being train'd up in the School of War by the greatest Master of that Time, his Father *Philip*. At his first Entrance into his Government, which he found embroil'd and perplex'd, his Prudence so composed Affairs, and he so quickly signaliz'd his Courage, that the *Grecian* Provinces made

choice of him for their General againſt the *Perſian*. He was indeed from his very Childhood poſſeſs'd with an Unaccountable, and, as it were, Divine Aſſurance, that he ſhould in progreſs of Time put an end to the Encroachments and Tyranny of the *Common Invader*. Having made what ſmall Preparations he could, he croſſes the *Helleſpont* for his *Aſian* Expedition. An Undertaking of that ſtupendious Hazard, that it could not at firſt obtain Belief from thoſe whom it moſt concerned. But in all his Enterprizes, he was ſupported by a Conſtancy that was peculiar

to

to himſelf, and the Reſult of his own extraordinary Genius. To inſiſt on Particulars, were to foreſtall his Hiſtory. I ſhall content my ſelf with a ſingle Inſtance, as a Sample of the whole, his paſſing of the River *Granicus*. The Rapidneſs of the Current, with the Unevenneſs and difficult Aſcent of the oppoſite Banks, made it preſum'd impoſſible to be gain'd. Yet with his Troops he undauntedly takes the Stream, advancing againſt whole ſhowers of Darts thrown at him from the other ſide, which was cover'd by the Enemy. Notwithſtanding which Diſadvantages he

Plutarch's *Life of* Alexander.

he perſiſts to gain the Ford, and coming on ſhore, makes up to the thickeſt of the Foe, himſelf ſtill foremoſt in Charging, and remarkable by a ſignal Ornament, which, with a Generous Defiance, he wore in that Engagement. His Succeſs in this Battel was of great Importance to his Affairs, for *Sardis* it ſelf, the chief Gariſon of the *Barbarians*, was thereupon ſurrender'd to him, with many other places, a few only holding out, which he afterwards reduced with a Diſpatch that was wonderful. Indeed there was ſomething Divine that ſhew'd it ſelf through his whole

whole Courſe; ſo fortunate in all that he attempted, as if Heaven had been obliged to proſper whatever he would Undertake. The very Dangers that approach'd his Perſon, ſeem'd but ſent as Tokens of an extraordinary Protection over him.

But his Sagacity, as well as Fortitude, was of a Reach beyond the moſt Experienced of his Council, from whoſe Opinion he would often diſſent, but was never in the Wrong. His Reſolves, (as *Plutarch* well obſerves) which in their Sentiments ſeemed Raſh, will appear on deep, and thorough Conſide-

ration

ration to be the Reſult of true and well-grounded Policy. After Victory he was Merciful as Couragious in Fight: Obliging and Grateful in his Temper, though ſevere in Diſcipline, and an impartial Diſtributer of Juſtice: By his Nature more addicted to Virtue and Glory, than to Pleaſure and Riches.

All which Circumſtances muſt render him a Candidate to Your Majeſties Favour, being ſo far Parallel to the *Alexander of the Preſent Age.* The Progreſs of whoſe Glory is Unblemiſh'd, the Former ſeeming to have been permitted in ſome Things to re-

recede from his Charcter, to Crown the Perſeverance of our Royal Hero, and entirely to Qualify him for the Darling of Providence. It would be Sacrilege in me to attempt the mentioning of what He has performed for the Preſervation of theſe Nations. So weak a Genius as mine will beſt expreſs its Sentiments in ſilent Admiration. He cannot fail of ſuch as ſhall do him Right to Poſterity. In the mean time, his Virtues and Heroick Actions are, and I hope will long continue, their own Living Hiſtory. I ſhall only preſume to ſay, That the *Boyne*, till

till now obſcure, ſhall hereafter be Celebrated equally with the *Granicus*, and the Memory of *Europe*'s Deliverer Eclipſe what was done by the Son of *Jupiter Ammon*.

No ſmaller Succeſs could have recompenced Your Majeſty for his Abſence; nor has Providence only made You Amends by Crowning Him with freſh Lawrels, but in giving Your Majeſty the Opportunity of exerting that Prudence and Reſolution in the Management of Affairs, as has not been Parallel'd by the moſt Illuſtrious of Your Sex. So extraordinary is the Veneration due to Your Majeſty

jeſty upon all Accounts, that it even prevents me from paying the uſual Duty of a Dedicator; Silence and Aſtoniſhment being the beſt Encomiums, where Grace and Nature have conſpired to make the Character ineffable. We can only preſent You with our grateful Acknowledgments, and Congratulate with You His Majeſty's moſt happy Return.

*Your Majeſty's moſt Humble*

*and Obedient Subject.*

N. TATE,

# THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

*Philip* of *Macedon*, who firſt raiſed his Country to its greateſt Power and Eſteem, by bringing all the reſt of *Greece* under its Subjection, was youngeſt Son of *Amyntas*, a Man of eminent Prudence, and endowed with all the natural and acquired Qualifications of a good Prince. His Father *Amyntas* had three Sons, *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and himſelf, who was the Father of *Alexander* the Great; and one Daughter call'd *Euryone*, by his Wife *Euridice*; which Daughter by detecting her Mother's Lewdneſs and Treaſonable Deſign, ſecur'd her Father's Crown upon his Head; for *Euridice* had plotted her Husband's death, and pro-

miſed his Kingdom and her ſelf, to her Son in Law, with whom ſhe was deeply in Love. After the death of *Amyntas*, his eldeſt Son, *Alexander*, ſucceeded him in his Throne; He in the very beginning of his Reign was ſo beſet on all ſides with Enemies, that he was forced to conclude a Peace with the *Illyrians* on theſe diſhonourable Terms, to promiſe them a ſum of Money, and give his Brother *Philip* as an Hoſtage. In this condition he remained ſometime with the *Illyrians*, and in a ſhort time after was delivered to the *Thebans*. Theſe Accidents, tho' his Country's, and his Brothers misfortunes, proved his advantages towards his Education. For he was committed to the ſole care of *Epaminondas*, a skilful Commander, and no leſs learned a Philoſopher. He was to train up the young Prince with all diligence, in the Arts and Exerciſes becoming one of his Birth and Extraction. This *Epaminondas* at that time had a Tutor in his Houſe, for his own Son, who was a follower of *Pythagoras*, under him *Philip* gained much. In the mean time great Alterations happened in *Macedon*; For *Euridice*, tho' pardoned by her Husband for her high Crimes for the Childrens ſake he had by her, to whom he never ſuſpected her Cruelty would extend; yet contrived and accompliſhed the death of her Son *Alexander*. Neither did her Cruelty reſt here, but procured his Brother *Perdiccas* alſo to be Murthered in a ſhort time. The latter left behind him a young Son, over whom and his Kingdom, *Philip*, making his eſcape from *Epaminondas*, was made Protector, not taking the name of King upon himſelf for a long time. Nevertheleſs in the 400*th*. Year from the building of *Rome*, and the 105*th*. *Olympiad*, he took upon himſelf the Kingdom, arming

arming himself with his Knowledge as well in Military affairs, as in humane Policy, against the Prejudices and Discontents wherewith the Kingdom abounded, although he was forced by the Vulgar to undertake it; for they being engaged in many dangerous Wars, thought the juncture of Affairs would not let them wait for the maturity of their Infant King.

At his first coming to the Crown, he was distracted with a multitude of dangers; for all the bordering Countries made Inroads into *Macedon*, and so many Nations at once unanimously declared War against him, that one would have thought they had all conspired the overthrow of his Kingdom. In all these troubles he made use both of his Policy and Courage, but of both very warily. For knowing himself unable to deal with all, he made Peace with the strongest, either by fair Promises or Money. The weakest he made head against, as well to inure his Souldiers to War, as to let his Enemies know he was not a Coward. His first Battel was with the *Athenians*, whom he overcame by a Stratagem, and because he not only spared their lives, when he might have slain them, but also set them at liberty without Ransome, he procured himself great respect and interest among them. This he did politically to prevent a greater danger.

After these he subdued the *Pæonians*, and then removed the seat of the War into *Illyria*, where with the slaughter of many thousands of his Enemies, he took their chief City *Lariſſæa*. From thence he turned his Forces against the *Theſſalians*, whose Riches and Country he was not so desirous of, as of their Horsemen to add to the strength of his Army. This his design took effect, for he

by a ſurprize conquered them, and added their Cavalry to his own Infantry, which compoſed a great, and almoſt invincible Army. After all this good ſucceſs he married *Olympias* the Daughter of *Neoptolemus*, a King of the *Moloſſi*; to this marriage he was perſwaded by *Arisbas*, at that time King of that People, who had married her Siſter, call'd *Troas*.

This *Arisbas* had afterward reaſon to repent his advice; For hoping to ſtrengthen his Kingdom by ſuch a potent Ally, was by him deprived of it, and died miſerably after a long Baniſhment. *Philip*, a little after his marriage dreamt he ſaw a large Medal [ *Bulla* ] at his Wife's Womb, and upon it the perfect image of a Lion. The *Sooth-Sayers* immediately affirmed his Wife to be with Child, which Child ſhould be of a fierce and Lion-like nature: Sometime after this at the Siege of *Methon*, he loſt his right Eye by the ſhot of an Arrow, and yet when the place was ſurrendred to him, he treated them with all gentleneſs and moderation. He took alſo *Pagus* and added it to his Dominions. From thence he marched into the Country of the *Triballi*, and brought not that only, but all the States adjoyning to *Macedon*, under his ſubjection in a very ſhort ſpace of time; by doing of which he made his own Kingdom very ſtrong. At his return home his Queen was delivered of his Son *Alexander*, who according to *Plutarch*, was born on the 6*th*. day of *April*, tho' the *Latin* Tranſlation hath it about the 13. of *Auguſt*. Thus did *Philip* bring matters ſo about, that he conquered all the States of *Greece*, tho' every one of them deſigned to make it ſelf the higheſt: For raiſing quarrels between them, and ſetting them cunningly at variance, he was by the *Thebans*, tho'

tho' before they had oppoſed him, choſen General againſt the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Phoceans*; their neceſſity compelling them to it, for the latter had ſpoil'd the Temple of *Apollo*: theſe he ſubdued and uſed as Sacrilegious perſons, which gained him great Honour, and of which he made great uſe. For he forced both the Vanquiſhed and the Victorious to own him for their King. Then croſſed the Sea into *Cappadocia*, and conquered and kill'd all the neighbouring Princes, and brought all that Province under the *Macedonian* Yoak. Next after he had ſack'd *Olynthum*, he went into *Thrace*; for two Kings in that Country had made him the Umpire of a difference which aroſe between them about the Bounds of their Dominions; he goes with the ſame intent and preparation to paſs his Sentence, as to War, and drove both out of the Kingdoms, concerning which they were in diſpute. In this he gave an inſtance to all Potentates, how puiſſant ſoever, to eſteem Concord the beſt art and ſureſt way to preſerve their Kingdoms from Ruin and Deſtruction.

By this time *Alexander* was 12 Years old, and ſo ſoon began to ſhow his delight in War-like exerciſes, that there appeared evident tokens of an Heroick Courage. In his Youth he was a very ſwift Runner, wherefore being ask'd by ſome of his Companions if he would exerciſe his Celerity in the Olympick Race, "Yes, replyed he, wil-"lingly, if the Sons of Kings were to run with "me. It happened that when there came Ambaſſadours from *Perſia*, in *Philip*'s abſence, he entertained them according to the Cuſtom of the Country; and ſo far was he from ſhowing any Childiſhneſs, that all his diſcourſe, all his queſti-

ons were of the diſtance of Places and the pleaſure of the Journey they were come; of the perſon and diſpoſition of their King in particular, and of all the Nation in general; of the ſtrength of their Enemies and their own, and ſuch like things; ſo that he raiſed in them ſo great admiration, that they ſaid, tho' they had heard of the Fame of his Father's vertues and abilities, yet they could not think but that the young Prince would ſurpaſs him, as much as already he did all of his Age. As oft as he heard his Father's ſucceſs ſpoken of in the taking of a Town, or winning a memorable Battel, he would rejoyce, and ſeem afflicted with the Story; yet was heard oft in his diſcourſe to his Equals to ſay; "My Fa-"ther will perform ſo many glorious Actions, that "I fear none will be left for me to ſignalize my "Courage in. Neither the deſire of Pleaſure or love of Money could extinguiſh his inſatiate thirſt of Honour; yet the more Power his Father conferr'd on him, the leſs he exercis'd it. Nor did he more deſire Pleaſures and Riches when he had more opportunity of enjoying them; but tho' almoſt all occaſions of doing great Actions were taken from him, yet his mind was ſtill upon them, to purchaſe by them immortal Glory; a brave and generous reſolution, by which not only *Alexander*, but all that really ſet their mind upon it, have made themſelves famous. He had about him many Maſters and Tutors, but principally he was recommended to the care of *Ariſtotle*, under whom he continued for the ſpace of 10 years. About this time his Father *Philip*, ſent to conſult the *Oracle* concerning his Succeſſour; he receiv'd anſwer, That he, who could get on the back of a Horſe named *Bucephalus*, ſhould Succeed him.

him, not only in the Kingdom of *Macedon*, but poſſeſs the Empire of the whole World. This was a Horſe of delicate ſhape and of fiery courage, whom one *Philonicus* a *Theſſalian*, bought for *Philip* for 13 Talents. *Philip* had kept him a long time within a place barr'd round with Iron, but yet he remained ſo full of metal that none durſt touch, much leſs offer to manage him; for this reaſon he commanded him to be carried away. But *Alexander* not willing ſuch a Horſe ſhould be loſt becauſe none had the courage or skill to uſe him, himſelf approached him, and firſt gently uſing him, he mounted, and with both Whip and Spurr exerciſed him a great while; at laſt when he came down, his Father kiſſing him with Tears of Joy, was heard to ſay, "Seek my Son, ſome other Kingdom fitter for the "greatneſs of thy large Soul, then the ſmall one "I ſhall leave you, which already appears too "little. Thus did the Prophetick prudence of the Father foretel, that his Sons mind would not reſt contented with the Conqueſts he had made. *Alexander* was now 16 Years old, and his Father committing the Government of the Kingdom to him, went himſelf to beſiege *Byzantium* a maritim Town, and one that would prove advantageous to the deſign he had laid of waging War with all *Greece*. This City was firſt built by *Pauſanias* a King of *Sparta*, afterwards being much beautified and enriched by *Conſtantine*, took its name *Conſtantinople* from him, and for the ſpace of 1011 Years was the Capital City of the *Eaſtern* Emperors; but ſince it was taken by the *Turks*, and remains ſtill in their hands.

But to return to *Philip*, he loſt many Men and much time before it, and at laſt turning Pyrate

for Proviſion, took 170 Ships, and divided the Spoil among his Souldiers; and becauſe he would not have the World take notice that one City ſhould reſiſt him, he removed with his beſt Men, and ſack'd ſeveral Cities of *Cherſoneſus*. To that place he ſent for his Son *Alexander*, now entred into the 18*th*. Year of his Age, with the intent he ſhould learn Military Diſcipline under him. As ſoon as he was come, he went with him into *Scythia*, and there getting great Booties, maintained the charge of one War by another. This Country being ſubdued, yielded him no Silver or Gold, he therefore tranſported 20000 Inhabitants, and as many Mares to breed on, into *Macedon*; with much more Cattel and Prey. But in his return the *Triballi* denyed him paſſage through their Country, unleſs they were partakers of his Booty. At firſt, they debated the matter calmly, but at laſt fell to downright fighting, in which Conflict *Philip* was wounded ſo in the Thigh, that the Dart pierced both that and his Horſe; and his Party ſuppoſing him ſlain, loſt all the prize. As ſoon as he grew well of his Wound, he began the War he had long intended againſt the *Athenians*; upon which the *Thebans* took their part, for fear, after they were conquered, he ſhould fall upon them. Theſe two Cities thus confederated, that before were at great variance, endeavoured to ſtir up all the reſt to oppoſe *Philip* as the common Enemy; ſome joyned with the *Athenians*, ſome for fear came to *Philips* Party.

In this Battel *Alexander* had the command of the Right Wing, and gave many teſtimonies of his courage and conduct. For he behaved himſelf with as much prudence as his Father or any of his Captains, nay, did not ſtick to ſay afterwards,

wards, that his Father's Deceit and Envy robb'd him of the honour of the Day: They fought near the City *Chæronea*, and the *Athenians* tho' far more in number, yet were worſted by the *Macedonians* who were hardned and uſed to War. But they dyed couragiouſly, not forgetting their valour which they had been famous for. 'Twas in this Battel that *Greece* loſt its Liberty to King *Philip*. *Alexander* for his Deſerts and high Merits had a long time been kindly treated by his Father: But now a certain breach of that love was cauſed by his Mother in Law *Cleopatra*, who was married to *Philip* in the room of *Olympias*. One *Attalus*, the Unkle of *Cleopatra*, at the Wedding, exhorted the *Macedonians* to pray, that *Philip* might have an Heir to his Kingdom by *Cleopatra*: Which being ſpoken at the Banquet in *Alexander*'s hearing, he threw a Cup at him, with this bitter Speech; "Thou Slave, ſaid he, doſt thou "look on me as baſely begotten? For this *Philip* drew his Sword and ſtruck at *Alexander*, but he avoiding the thruſt, left the Room unhurt. After this, upbraiding his Father with it, he departed with his Mother into *Epirus*, from whence his Father afterwards intreated him to return; At which time marriage was concluded on between *Alexander* the Brother of *Olympias*, whom inſtead of *Ariſbas*, *Philip* had made King of *Epirus*, and *Cleopatra*, Daughter to the new Queen; which was celebrated with great Solemnity, and honoured with the preſence of two Kings, one giving his Daughter, the other receiving her in Marriage. There were great Balls, at which *Philip* being preſent, and ſeated between his Son and Son in Law, one *Pauſanias*, a young *Macedonian* Lord, Stabbed him, and ended the Day deſigned to be ſpent in Sports,

with

with that lamentable Tragedy, which was not in the leaſt ſuſpected by any. The reaſon was, that *Attalus* had forced this *Pauſanias* to the unlawful abominable uſe of his body, and ſuffred divers to uſe it beſides himſelf. Of this *Pauſanias* complained to *Philip*, who was much diſpleaſed with the foulneſs of the Crime, but proceeded not to any puniſhment, becauſe *Attalus* was very familiar with him, being a near Kinſman of the Queens, and of great reſolution and valour, and a good Souldier, and was choſen General of the Forces he intended to ſend into *Aſia*. Beſides, to make *Pauſanias* ſome amendment, he gave him good words and great gifts, and advanced him to an higher Command in his Service. But his anger was implacable, and he reſolved to revenge himſelf, not on him only, from whom he receiv'd the abuſe, but on him who refuſed to revenge it for him.

King *Philip* lived 47 Years, Reigned 25. over the *Macedonians* 23. He was a Man who was more cunning in getting than keeping Riches, and tho' he had much war-like Furniture, yet he was always poor. It was hard to tell whether he was more merciful or more deceitful. He ſtood upon no Honour in competition with Gain; fallacious he was both in jeaſt and earneſt. He kept Truces only as they ſtood with his Intereſt. Where he hated he could pretend favour, and was deſirous to breed diſſentions among Allies, yet himſelf could agree with both. He was eloquent in his Speech, and wanted neither Wit to invent, nor Elegancy to expreſs his Invention.

*The end of the Firſt Book.*

THE

# The Second Book.

*Alexander* the Son of *Philip*, (for his many famous Actions surnamed the Great) being 20 Years old at his Father's death, which happened in the * 426*th.* year from the building of *Rome*, Succeeded him in a Kingdom which at that time was much envyed at, and threatned by many dangerous Enemies. For the adjacent Conquered Nations began to grow both weary of their Slavery, and desirous to recover their ancient Priviledges and Principalities

* *L. Æmilio Mamercino & C. Plautio Coss. Liv. lib. 8. Olym. 111. an. 2. Com. Nep.*

The first thing the young King appear'd in, was in the bringing those who had been concerned in his Father's death, to condign punishment; whose Funeral Rites he afterwards celebrated with very great Solemnity.

He setled the state of his Kingdom, and freed it from the fore-mentioned Ills, with more courage and prudence than was or could be expected from one, whose Youth had almost rendred him contemptible. This he perform'd by many Harangues made to the Vulgar, in which he so gained upon them, that he took away all occasion of Contempt of his Years from one party, and of fear of his cruel Disposition from the other, and gave both great hopes of his future Excellencies. He granted them the immunity of all things unless a discharge from the Wars, by which he so attracted their Love, that they said they had changed

changed only the Name and Perſon, but not the Virtue nor the Valour of the King.

At his firſt coming to the Crown, many of his Subjects raiſed Rebellions againſt him, whom, with incomparable Conſtancy and Magnanimity, he reduced to their Obedience. His affairs at home being thus ſettled, he went to *Corinth*, a City in *Peloponneſus*, where by the unanimous conſent of a General Council of all *Greece*, he was declared Commander in chief in a War, which his Father had deſigned before his death, againſt the *Perſians*, who before had made many attempts on his own Country, and were at that time poſſeſſed of the moſt flouriſhing Empire of the whole World. But while he was preparing for this Enterprize, a Conſpiracy of the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedemonians*, was diſcovered; the Author of it was found to be *Demoſthenes* the Oratour, who being bribed by the *Perſians* with a great ſum of Money, had wrought ſo with thoſe three Cities, that he had perſwaded them to revolt. *Alexander* marched againſt them with incredible ſpeed and reſolution, and preventing the report of his coming, came upon them, and ſcattered them ſooner than the ill News it ſelf could reach them. And ſo far was this his Expedition from Temerity, that even by the way he wrought upon the *Theſſalians* by many art-full perſwaſions, by many promiſes of his own, and cunning remembrances of his Father's kindneſſes to them, by their nearneſs in Blood to Him in their deſcent from *Hercules*; that they put themſelves under his Protection, and agreed to grant him all their Cuſtomes and Revenues. Theſe his great Performances turned the ſcorn of his Youth into as great a reverence and admiration of his Abilities.

This

This was ſoon after manifeſted by the *Athenians*, who, to regain their Credit forfeited in revolting firſt, firſt returned to their Obedience; and ſending Embaſſadors to entreat for Pardon and Peace, praiſed the Courage and Conduct of the young Conquerour, above that of their ancienteſt Commanders. Theſe Embaſſadors *Alexander* checked very ſeverely; but at laſt granted them their deſired Peace. *Demoſthenes* was one in this Embaſſy, but went along with them no farther than the Mountain *Cytheron*; from thence he returned to *Athens*, fearing either the Revenge of *Alexander*, againſt whoſe Father and Subjects he had often ſpoken very vehemently; or the ſuſpicion of *Darius*, by whom he was corrupted with a great Bribe, to oppoſe the *Macedonians*. The latter of theſe ſeems to have been *Æſcines* his Opinion; for in one of his Orations he hath theſe words: "*For the preſent, indeed, his profuſe life* "(meaning *Demoſthenes*) *is ſupplied out of the Em-* "*perour of* Perſia's *Coffers*; *but nor thoſe, nor any* "*maſs of Treaſure, will hold out to his Prodigality.* Thus the Troubles of *Greece* ſeemed to be compoſed. But *Alexander*, before he paſſed into *Aſia* with his Forces, took a Journey, viſiting the *Pæons*, *Triballi*, and *Illyrii*, whom he had notice were forming ſome ill deſign. For he deemed it not ſafe, that thoſe ſhould be neglected, who being wavering in their Loyalty, were very apt, and Neighbours to his Countrey, were able to do much miſchief in his and his Army's abſence, in ſo long a Journey. He ſet out therefore for *Thrace*, from the City *Amphipolis* (call'd by the *Greeks*, Ανονόμος; (*i. e.*) ſubject to no body's command), and after Ten Days travel, came to mount *Hæmus*, where at the Mouth of the narrow aſcent to the Mountain, he diſcovered

vered a ſtrong Power, conſiſting partly of the Native *Thracians*, partly of Merchants in a poſture ready to receive him. For they were encamped on the top of the Hill, and where the paſſage to the top opened, had placed their Carriages, to ſerve inſtead of Trenches, if they ſhould be attacqued that way; determining if they were attempted on any other ſide to roul their Chariots forcibly down the Hill, and break their Enemies Ranks; which Stratagem was put in execution, but not with the hoped for ſucceſs. For *Alexander* had before commanded his Men, either to open their Ranks, and give way to the Carriages, or elſe to fall flat, and cover themſelves with their Shields, and ſo avoid the danger; which they did; and from thence taking Courage, with a terrible Shout, ſet upon their Enemies, and put them to flight at the firſt on-ſet. *Alexander*, with all the ſpeed imaginable, having paſſed the Mountain, entred the Countrey of the *Triballi*, as far as the River *Ligeus*. Their King at that time was named *Syrmus*, who as ſoon as he heard of *Alexander*'s coming, ſent his Wife and Children, and ſuch perſons, whoſe tender, or feeble Age made them but troubleſome in War, to an Iſland ſeated in the *Danube*, call'd *Peuca*, to which ſome of the *Thracians* and *Triballi*, were already fled, and to which himſelf followed ſoon after. Thoſe who accompanied him not in his flight, got into the Woods, from whence *Alexander* enticing and challenging them, ſlew three thouſand; the reſt almoſt all fled, except ſome few taken Priſoners.

After this, he went to attempt the Iſland, to which the greateſt part had fled. But he found a very vigorous reſiſtance, which was the more ſucceſsful, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of Ships, and the

the little use that could be made of them in a place where the Stream was so swift, because of the narrowness of its Banks; nor did the steepiness of the Shore, and difficulty of landing a little incommode him. Wherefore taking the advantage of the Night, and getting a few Boats in another place, he passed over with Fifteen Hundred Horse, and Four Thousand Foot: With these he set upon a party of *Getes*, set on purpose to guard the Shore, of whom were Four Thousand Horse, and above Ten Thousand Foot; But though they exceeded him in Number, yet they were so terrified by his sudden approach, that they stood not the first Assault. For it seem'd to them a prodigious Action, that *Alexander* should so soon, without any Bridge, pass over so many Soldiers, over the broadest and deepest River in *Europe*.

This Enterprise struck them with so great a fear, that they fled into the neighbouring Woods, leaving their City desolate, which *Alexander* burnt to the ground. At the sight of this, *Syrmus* their King, together with the *Germans*, sent Messengers to sue for Peace to *Alexander*, and to enter into a League with him, which he granted.

At their meeting, he put a strange question to them, asking them, what they were most afraid of; to which they answered, (guessing his thoughts of himself) That they feared, lest at any time the Sky should fall upon them. He seemed not moved at this presumptuous Answer, but sent them away, fixing this Character on the *Germans*, that they were Proud.

As he was marching from hence towards the *Pæons* and the *Agrians*, he was informed of the revolt

revolt of *Clytus* of *Bardyle*, and that he had joyned himſelf with *Glaucias* King of the *Taulantii*. Beſides all this he was advertiſed that the *Anterians* would give him battel in his journey. He ſent therefore one *Lagareus* King of the *Agrians*, againſt the latter, with a ſtrong detachement: This *Lagareus* had been a great favourite of his Father *Philip*, and was no leſs intimate with him, for he promiſed him his own Siſter *Cyna* at his return, upon condition of ſucceſs. He in Perſon went againſt *Glaucias*, whom he totally routed in divers ſet battels.

In the midſt of all theſe troubles he received News from *Greece*, that affairs in his abſence were in a very bad poſture: That ſeveral Cities, and *Thebes* moſt notoriouſly, had revolted from him. *Alexander* was much moved at this, and reſolved to return inſtantly into *Macedon*, to reduce his Cities to their Loyalty.

The *Thebans* had now gotten head, and were beſieging the Caſtle, which was ſurrounded with a Wall and a deep Ditch, and had in it a Garriſon of *Macedonian* Souldiers. The King by long journeys and tedious marches, haſted to its relief, and arrived in ſight of it before his Enemies expected him. The *Theban* Captains were a little ſurpriſed at his ſuddain approach, and being doubtful of the aid they were promiſed from their Neighbours, call'd a Council of War to debate what was to be done; in which it was reſolved, to undergo the extremity of a War. In the mean time, *Alexander* delayed his attempting any thing, to give them time to alter their reſolution; for he did not imagine that they had any thoughts of reſiſting ſuch an Army as He brought with him, having above 30000 foot-

men,

men, and full 3000. Horſemen, who were ſuch experienced Souldiers, that he doubted not to undertake with them the Conqueſt of the *Perſian* Empire. To which deſign his Mind was then ſo much bent, that it was in the *Thebans* choice to have ſaved themſelves, if they had but asked Peace. But they reſolved to hazard all in one Battle, and therefore ſet upon the *Macedonians*, though far exceeding them in number, with great reſolution; but the Garriſon making a furious Sally on their backs, they were hemm'd in, and almoſt all cut off. *Alexander* took and utterly deſtroyed the City, which he did the rather to terrifie the reſt of the City from the ſame Crime in his long abſence. And to ſatisfie the Complaints of the *Phocenians* and *Plateans* againſt the *Thebans*, He ſlew above 6000. of them, and ſold 30000. for ſlaves, the price of whom amounted to 440. Talents: Yet to manifeſt his love to Learned Men, in this general deſtruction, he ſaved even the Houſe of *Pindar*, the famous Poet.

In this Action 'tis reported of one *Timoclea*, a Woman of noble Birth, that being raviſhed by a Captain, and afterwards urged much to diſcover where her treaſure was hid, ſhe brought him to a Well, and told him, all her Jewels were in it, but as he ſtooped down to look into it, ſhe thruſt him in, and covered his dead body with ſtone. The thing was diſcovered, and ſhe was brought before *Alexander*, who asked her, who ſhe was; *I am*, ſaid ſhe, *the Siſter of* Theagenes, *who was choſen General againſt* Philip, *and who fought valiantly, and died honourably in defence of his Countrey.* The King wondring at, and pleaſed with her couragious Anſwer, cauſed her and her Children

to be ſet at Liberty. The miſerable condition of the *Thebans* ſo moved the *Athenians* to pity, that contrary to *Alexander*'s expreſs command, they opened their Gates to thoſe that could make their eſcape. This ſo enraged *Alexander*, that at the ſecond Intreaty of the *Athenians* for Peace, he was very hardly prevailed with to grant it; nay, refuſed, unleſs thoſe Captains and Orators were delivered unto him, who had been the Ringleaders and Fomenters of this Sedition. At laſt matters were ſo ordered, that the Orators could not obtain their Liberty, but were confin'd, and the Captains baniſht, who preſently betook themſelves to the King of *Perſia*.

About this time *Alexander* aſſembled all his Forces to the * *Iſthmus*, whither all the Orators and Philoſophers reſorted unto him, *Diogenes*, the *Cynick*, only excepted, whom *Alexander*'s fame could not draw from his Tub in which he dwelt at *Corinth*, a City in the *Iſthmus*. His Obſtinacy therefore cauſed *Alexander* to viſit him: He found him ſolacing himſelf in the Sun-Beams: He asked him, if he wanted any thing; "*Nothing*, reply'd "the *Cynick, but that thou would'ſt ſtand from be-* "*twixt me and the Sun.* With this Anſwer *Alexander* was ſo pleaſed, that turning to his Followers, he ſpake this memorable ſaying, "*Were I* "*not already* Alexander, *I could wiſh to be* Dio- "genes.

* The neck of Land that hinders *Peloponneſus* from being an Iſland.

Thus were the Troubles of *Greece* happily compoſed, and *Alexander*'s Affairs at home in a good condition: He therefore in order to his Deſign, committed his Kingdom, and his Territories in *Greece*, to the care of *Antipater*, in whom he repoſed the greateſt confidence.

In

In the beginning of the Spring he marched to the *Helleſpont*, with his whole Force; and with all imaginable care and ſpeed ſhipped them over into *Aſia*. When they were come to the other ſide, they made a ſtand, which when *Alexander* ſaw, he throwing a Dart into the Enemies ground, leaped upon the ſhoar in compleat Armour, as if he firſt denounced War, and then preſuming it conquered, took poſſeſſion of the Countrey. Upon the ſhoar he ſacrificed and made prayers to the Gods for ſucceſs in his Enterpriſe, an Enterpriſe which whoſoever conſiders, and the Forces he had to perform it with (his Foot being but 32000. and ſcarce 5000. Horſe) will hardly be able to determine, whether was more glorious, to dare to undertake the conqueſt of the world with them, or to be able to perform it.

This was a Cuſtom among the *Romans* donebythe *Feciales*, with us, Heralds at Arms.

Moreover, 'tis not unworthy of taking notice what means he made uſe of; his Army conſiſted not of luſty and active Youth in the flower and ſtrength of their Age, but of old experienced Soldiers, whoſe long continuance in VVar might have exempted them from being forced to it, who ſeemed fitter to give Precepts of VVar than to execute any. None under the Age of Sixty years had any Command, ſo that a Council of VVar in *Alexander*'s Tent reſembled the ancient grave Senate of a well-ordered Commonwealth. An ignoble flight never entred into their thoughts, who always aſſured themſelves of Victory. *Alexander* in many places performed Sacrifice to the Gods, but chiefly at *Achilles* his Tomb, from whom by his Mother he was deſcended, whoſe good Fortune he abundantly praiſed in having *Homer* to immortalize his Memory. From thence he marched to the heart of *Darius* his Kingdom. This *Da-*

rius was the Son of *Arsanes*, and the Fourteenth from * *Cyrus*: He was sole Monarch of all the *East*; and because he had demanded Tribute from *Philip*, *Alexander* made VVar against him. He having received News of *Alexander*'s approach and intent, sent him this proud and haughty Embassy, That himself was the King of Kings, and as near of Kindred to the Gods as in Power. As for *Alexander*, whom he stiled his Vassal, designing to use him so, he commanded his Officers to chastize that insolent Boy the Son of *Philip*, (for so, through contempt, he call'd him) and then cloathing him in Kingly apparel, to bring him before him. His Ships he ordered to be sunk, and his Soldiers to be transported beyond the Red Sea. In pursuance of his Command there marched 20000. Foot, and as many Horse, as far as the River *Granicus*, (which bounds *Troas* from the *Propontis*) and encamped on the Banks of the River over which *Alexander* was necessarily to pass. The King was sensible of the eminent danger he was in; for he was to fight with his Enemies on the higher ground; and that he stood on was very slippery; nevertheless trusting to his Fortune and Courage, he charged them valiantly: and though at first he was a little put to it, yet at length the incomparable Valour of his Soldiers got him the Victory, which proved of great moment to him; for he slew 20000. of the Enemy's Foot, and 250. Horse, and what was more considerable, took the strong Fort of *Sardeis*, by which they commanded the Sea. He granted the people liberty of being ruled by their own Laws. The Fourth day after the Fight he seised the City *Ephesus*, being abandoned by its Garrison. Soon after came Embassadors from *Magnesia*, and the *Tralli*,

* He translated the Empire from the *Medes* to the *Persians*.

*Tralli*, offering him the Keys of their Cities. Thither he ſent *Parmenio* with 2500. Mercenaries, and as many *Macedonians*, and about 200. of his Friends to receive their ſubmiſſion. *Miletum* he took by ſtorm, and all the Towns between that and *Hallicarnaſſus*, which laſt, after a long ſiege he utterly deſtroyed. At his entrance into *Caria*, *Ada*, the Queen thereof, met him, and adopted him her Heir, and put into his hands *Alinda*, a City which only of all her Countrey held out againſt *Darius* his Lieutenant, call'd *Orontobates*. He accepted of the Name of her Son, and winning all *Caria*, left it to be governed by her. He went to *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, deſigning to ſubdue all the Sea Coaſts to *Phœnicia* and *Cilicia*, on purpoſe to render all their ſhipping uſeleſs to them. After this he conquered the *Piſidians*, and with great Cheerfulneſs and Courage entred *Phrygia*, through which he was to paſs to meet *Darius*, who in Perſon came againſt him with many thouſands of Soldiers.

*The end of the Second Book.*

# The Third Book.

*Alexander* having loſt many Men in his late Victories, ſent *Cleander* into *Peloponneſus*, to hire him ſupplies of Mercenary Soldiers, whilſt he himſelf ſetled the Affairs of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, and removing his Army, ſate down before a City call'd *Celenæ*. Through the midſt of this City ran the River *Marſyas*, ſo famous in the Writings of the *Greek* Poets. The Head of it ariſeth out of the top of a Mountain, from whence it falls down with a great noiſe on a neighbouring Rock, at the foot whereof it ſpreads it ſelf, and waters all the Fields about, without receiving any addition of other Waters to its own. The likeneſs of its colour to that of a calm and ſerene Sea, gave Original to the Poets Fable, in which they feign, that certain Nymphs, for the love they have to that place, make their abode about that Rock. So much of the River as is within the City keeps its own fore-mentioned Name, but that part without the VValls running with a wider and ſwifter courſe, is by the Inhabitants called *Lycus*. The Citizens had deſerted the City, and fled into the Caſtle: *Alexander* entred the Town, but before he attempted any thing againſt the Caſtle, he ſent a Meſſenger to forewarn the Garriſon, that unleſs they ſurrendred, he would inflict on them the utmoſt extremities of VVar. They brought the Herald into

into a Tower, to the ſtrength of which both Art and Nature had contributed much, and deſir'd him to look upon the ſituation of it, and to tell *Alexander*, that he and they had a very different Opinion concerning it; that they knew it was impregnable; or if it prov'd otherwiſe, they reſolved to die rather than falſifie the truſt repos'd in them. Nevertheleſs the ſight of the preparations for the Siege wrought ſuch effects in them, together with the decreaſe of proviſion, that they made a Truce for Sixty days on theſe Conditions, that if in that time they receiv'd no ſuccour, they would yield up the place; which they did, having no news of any relief from *Darius*.

During *Alexander*'s ſtay here, Embaſſadors came to him from *Athens*, to intreat him, that thoſe of that City that had fought for *Darius*, and were taken Priſoners at the battle of *Granicus*, might be ſet at liberty; to whom he gave anſwer, that at the end of the *Perſian* War, not they only, but all *Græcians* who had been, or ſhould be made his Captives, ſhould be ſet free. In all his proceedings he had ſtill an Eye upon thoſe of *Darius*, who he was ſure had not paſſed the River *Euphrates*; wherefore gathering his whole Army together, he meant to hazard no leſs than all his Forces in a ſet Battle. At that time he paſſed through the Countrey call'd *Phrygia*, which is very ſcarce of Cities, but aboundeth in little Villages. One City there was call'd *Gordium*, a very ancient one, in which *Midas* kept his Court, and in whoſe time it was very rich and populous. It was ſeated near the River *Sangarius*, and had on each ſide of it a Sea, on one ſide the Sea of *Pontus*, on the other that of *Cilicia*, both almoſt of the ſame diſtance from it.

This place is reported to be the narroweſt part of all *Aſia*. It hath ſo much water about it, that it ſeems almoſt an Iſland, and would really be ſo, if a little point of Land did not hinder the joyning of the two Seas, which flow on each ſide a narrow ſlip of ground. *Alexander* as ſoon as he had made himſelf Maſter of the place, went into the Temple of *Jupiter*: Here he ſaw the Chariot in which *Gordius*, the Father of *Midas*, was wont to be carried; which differed in nothing from a common and ordinary one, but that a Cord or Rein was memorable, for a knot it had in it, the intricate foldings of which could not be diſcerned by the moſt curious Eye. The King was fired with a marvellous deſire of unlooſing it, becauſe the Inhabitants had affirmed, that the Oracle had given out, that upon him who untied it, ſhould devolve the Empire of all *Aſia*. There flocked about him many *Phrygians*, beſides his own *Macedonian* Attendants; the firſt deſiring to ſee the ſolution of the Knot, and fullfilling of the Prediction; the laſt fearing the ſucceſs of the King's raſh Enterpriſe, becauſe they could not diſcern any beginning or end of the Knot. He himſelf was not negligent; for he was afraid the good *Omen* which was foretold to the performance, ſhould be interpreted a bad one to him, if he fail'd to do it. He ſtood not therefore long in conſideration which way he ſhould do it, by following the intricate foldings of it, but cut through it with his Sword, and either fulfilled, or, at leaſt, made void the Oracle's Prediction.

He now took a reſolution to ſet upon *Darius* wherever he could find him; in order to which he thought fit to ſecure what he had already conquered.

quered. He made *Amphoterus* Admiral of his Navy on the Coaſt of *Helleſpont*; and *Hegelochus* Commander of his Land-Forces: Theſe were to defend the Iſlands *Chios*, *Lesbos*, and *Coos*, from the incurſions of the *Perſians*, and ſent them Fifty Talents to defray their Charge. To *Antipater*, and the reſt that held the *Grecian* Cities for him, he ſent Sixty. He ordered alſo his Allies to furniſh out Ships at their own coſt, according to their Agreement, to cruiſe about the *Helleſpont*. For as yet he had not heard of the Death of *Memnon*; and beſides him, he knew of none that could hinder his March towards *Darius*.

Now he was come to the City *Ancyra*, where he made a Rendezvous of all his Forces, and after that entred into *Paphlagonia*, and was there joyned by a ſtrong Party of the *Heneti*, from whom ſome affirm the *Venetians* are ſprung. All this Country was very obedient to him, and gave him Pledges; onely they deſired to be exempted from paying Tribute, which they had not done even to the *Perſians*. Over it he ſet *Calas*, and then marched with the ſupplies he had lately receiv'd out of *Macedonia*, into *Cappadocia*.

In the mean time, *Darius* having News of *Memnon*'s Death, was much troubled (as indeed he had great reaſon), and now reſolved in Perſon to try his Fortune in a Battel: For he liked not the Conduct of his Captains, of whom he ſuſpected many to have been ignorant and careleſs, and found all to his loſs, unſucceſsful. He encamped therefore near *Babylon*, and to encourage his Soldiers to fight the more couragiouſly, he let them all have a view of their own ſtrength. And in order to the muſtring his Army, he followed the Example of *Xerxes*,

*Xerxes*, and cauſed a Trench to be digged round a piece of ground, fit to hold 10000. Men, which was filled ſucceſſively with that number, who lodged there all Night, and in the Morning took their Poſts in the Plains of *Meſopotamia*. His Cavalry, although almoſt innumerable, ſeemed more than really they were. Of *Perſians* there were 100000. of theſe 30000. Horſe; of the *Medes* 10000. Horſe, and 50000. Foot; of the *Barcans* were 2000. Horſe armed with Two edged Swords, and * light Shields, like thoſe of the *Spaniards*, and 10000. Foot alike accoutred. The *Armenians* ſent him Forty Thouſand Foot, and Seven Thouſand Horſemen; the *Hyrcanians*, who are eſteemed choice men among thoſe Nations, ſent Six Thouſand Men to fight on Horſeback. The *Derbices* fitted out Forty Thouſand Footmen armed, ſome with Pikes headed with Iron, others with ſuch only whoſe Ends were hardned in the Fire. With them came Two Thouſand Horſe. From his Subjects bordering on the *Caſpian* Sea, were levied an Army conſiſting of Eight Thouſand Foot, and Two Hundred Horſe, with whom came 2000. Peaſants on Foot, and double the number on Horſeback. To all theſe were added Thirty Thouſand Mercenary Soldiers of *Greece*, all ſtout men. Theſe he hired, becauſe the haſte he had uſed in raiſing his Army, prevented the aid he might have had from the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, and *Indians*, and other Nations, whoſe very Names are unknown even to their Emperour. Of all things *Darius* ſtood in need of towards the oppoſing *Alexander*, he wanted not a numerous Army; of which, how joyful, or rather confidently proud he was, this one Inſtance will ſerve to evince.

There

*Cetra* ſignifieth a ſquare Target uſed by the *Moors*.

The number of all the Horſe is 61200. of the Foot 220000. together, they make 281200. and the 30000. Mercenaries added 311200.

There was in his Army one *Eudemus* an *Athenian*, a Man well skilled in Military affairs, and in his Mind, a ſworn Enemy to *Alexander*, for having procured his Baniſhment from *Athens*; him he ſent for, and asked his Judgment, if he were not able even to eat up his Enemy; to whom the courageous *Greek* laying aſide the thoughts of the Emperour's Nature, or his own Condition, returned this anſwer: "The truth I am about to ſpeak, "Moſt mighty Emperour, at this time, perhaps "you will not endure to hear, which at another I "ſhall not be brought to confeſs: This Army, ſet "out with all this coſtly preparation; This prodi-"gious Body of Men, gathered from all the Na-"tions of the *Eaſt*, may perhaps to their Neigh-"bours ſeem terrible, to themſelves invincible: "Here indeed is ſo much Purple and rich Ar-"mour, that its value will be incredible to thoſe "whoſe Eyes have not been dazled by its ſplen-"dor. But in the *Macedonian* Army you'l find "rough and manly fierceneſs, inſtead of all this "effeminate Bravery. There is that invincible "and immoveable *Phalanx*, knit together with "Sword and Buckler: Every Soldier ſtands foot "to foot, joyning themſelves together with their "Launces: Every one is reſolved to ſtand to his "Colours, to keep his Rank, and able by the ve-"ry Nod of the Commander to apprehend his "meaning. So ſpeedily and skilfully do they o-"bey their Officers, that in marching, or wheel-"ing about, or ſurrounding the Enemy, or ſuc-"couring their own Wings from the main Body, "or changing the manner of the Battle, that they "almoſt anticipate the Word of Command. Nay, "to let you know how uſeleſs Gold and Silver is "towards the effecting this, they have learn't it

"all

" all not only in, but from their Poverty. The " ground is the place they reſt their wearied Bo- " dies on; their Dainties are what they get in " their booty; and the Night is thought too long " to be ſpent in idle ſleep. Can you think the " *Theſſalian* Horſe, the brave *Acarnanians*, the " couragious *Ætolians*, will be repulſed by " Pikes hardned in the fire? No, miſtaken Empe- " rour, their own VVeapons, in the hands of " their own Countrey-men, muſt be employed " againſt them: Your Golden Armour, and rich " Furniture would hire better Soldiers out of the " Enemies Countrey, than thoſe who now ſo " proudly wear them.

*Darius* was a man naturally of a mild Diſpoſi- tion, but that good Fortune, and too much greatneſs altered ſometimes even his good Nature. This at this time was manifeſt; For he commanded him, whom he had entertain'd as a ſtranger, and who had adviſed him as a friend, to be put to Death (not being able to hear this true reprehenſion) for his good and wholeſome advice.

*Eudemus* ſetting aſide all thoughts of his Liberty, " I know, ſaid he, moſt unfortunate Empe- " rour, my Death will be revenged on you; and " by him too, againſt whom I have given you " this good Counſel. You indeed are changed " by Fortune, but I fear will be an Example to " Poſterity, how much men lay by their own " good Nature and Prudence, when they com- " mit themſelves to her.

He had no ſooner ſpoken this, but the Officers, whoſe duty it was, ſtrangled him. The King, after conſideration, ordered him to be decently in-

interred, and confeſſed afterwards he had given him the beſt Counſel.

*Darius*, in the room of *Memnon*, ſubſtituted *Pharnabazus*, after he had taken from him the Command of the Forreign Auxiliary Forces (in whom he repoſed great confidence), and conferred it on one *Thymodes*, the Son of *Mentor*, who was a young man of great Courage and Reſolution. In his ſleep he had many Viſions of the Event of the War, whether they were the effects of his troubled and dejected Spirits, or the reſults of his foreboding Mind. He dream't he ſaw *Alexander*'s Camp on fire, and *Alexander* himſelf brought before him in the Cloak he himſelf wore; afterward he ſaw him ride through *Babylon*, and on a ſudden he and his Horſe vaniſhed. The *Soothſayers*, who upon this occaſion were conſulted, gave divers interpretations of theſe things. Some from *Alexander*'s Camp being burnt, and his appearing in a *Perſian* Habit, and that a mean one too, prognoſticated to *Darius* good ſucceſs againſt him. Others gave their Opinion to the contrary, that the fire in *Alexander*'s Camp was an Emblem of his fiery Courage, and his Habit a ſign of his Command over all *Aſia*, becauſe the ſame in which *Darius* was ſaluted Emperour. This fear, as is uſual, was increaſed by calling to mind many ancient occurrences. One was, that *Darius*, in the beginning of his Reign, had changed the Scabbard of his *Scimitar*, into the faſhion of thoſe worn by the *Græcians*; which was thus interpreted by the *Chaldeans*; That their Swords ſhould conquer the *Perſian* Empire, whoſe faſhion *Darius* in his imitated: Yet ſo far was he from being caſt down at either this or the foremention'd *Omen*, that he appeared rather

ther glad and encouraged by them, and ſtraight moved his Camp to the River *Euphrates*. It was an ancient Cuſtom among the *Perſians* to begin their March at Sun-riſing. At broad day-light a Trumpet ſounded, and gave the Signal from the Tent-Royal; upon the top of which was placed a Cryſtal, incloſing the Image of the Sun, and contracting the Rays of it, to make its luſtre the more conſpicuous to the whole Army. The Order of the March was thus; Firſt was their Holy and Eternal Fire (as they call it) carried on Silver Altars, and followed by their Prieſts, ſinging their own Country Hymns. Next went three hundred ſixty five young men, equal in number to the days of the year (which the *Perſians* divide as we do) all cloathed in Scarlet; next followed the Chariot of *Jupiter*, drawn by White Horſes; after that a Horſe of a large ſize, called, *The Horſe of the Sun*; even the Grooms that look't after theſe Horſes had Golden Wands, and White Garments. At a little diſtance appeared Ten Chariots, adorned with Gold and Silver. Next marched the Cavalry of Twelve Nations, as different in Manners and Cuſtoms as in the Armour they wore. Then were to be ſeen a Party of ten thouſand men whom the *Perſians* call *Immortal*; in whom the Riches of thoſe Countries appeared as much as in any other thing whatever; about their Necks they wore Chains of Gold; the body of their Coats for diſtinction, were embroider'd with Gold, their Sleeves ſet with Diamonds. At a ſmall diſtance came fifteen thouſand Men, call'd *Doryphori* [*i. e.* Shield-bearers]: Theſe were all called the King's Kindred, and were in very effeminate Habits; their Armour being gaudy, but not ſerviceable or becoming; after theſe a Band of men that look't

after

after the King's Wardrobe: Immediately followed the Emperour's Chariot, on which he was ſeated very high, and in great ſplendor. On each ſide of the Chariot were divers Images of their Gods, in Silver and Gold. The Axletree was adorned with many precious Stones; upon it were Two Images in Gold, one repreſenting Peace, the other War, of a Cubit-Stature; between them was an Eagle of Gold diſplaying her Wings over them both. *Darius* himſelf was the moſt notable for Luxury among all his Train: The body of his Coat was woven of White, the Sleeves Purple: Upon his Cloak, embroidered with Gold, were Two Vultures, which, with the moving of the Garment, ſeemed to fight, and peck at one another. He wore a kind of an effeminate Golden Belt, and his Scabbard was a whole *Diamond*; about his Turbant, call'd by the *Perſians*, *Cydaris*, he had a Roll of White and Green Silk. After the Chariot came 10000. Spearmen, with Spears, that had Silver Heads, and Darts with Golden Heads; On each ſide went Two Hundred Young Noble-men, almoſt all of them his Kindred: Next to theſe came thirty thouſand Foot, and four hundred Horſe: About a Furlong off came *Siſigambis*, the Mother of *Darius*, in one Chariot, and his Wife in another. The Ladies that attended on the Two Queens, rode on Horſes: Theſe were followed by Fifteen Chariots of State, in which were the King's Children, and their Tutors, and Eunuchs, who in this Countrey are in no ſmall eſtimation. After theſe even his Concubines appeared in a Princely Equipage, being in number three hundred and ſixty. Next appeared 600. Mules, and 300. Camels laden with his trea-

treasure, and a Convoy with them of Archers. The next in Order of the Procession were the Wives of all the Blood-Royal: after them Servants and Slaves. The last of all were the Officers that brought up the Rear, being lightly armed.

This was the splendid and solemn Procession of *Darius*. But how different was the appearance of the *Macedonian* Army? Here was no glittering Golden Armour, but bright and serviceable Steel; an Army fit for Expedition, considering the lightness of their Carriage; yet resolute and daring to stand the shock of a Battle; an Army in which each one was apprehensive of the words, and very nods of the Commander: and lastly, an Army, which for the number, wanted neither room nor provision in their Camp. And though *Darius* his Forces were so numerous, yet by reason of the narrowness of the place they stood in, they were reduced to as small a number as that he derided in his Enemies.

In the mean while, *Alexander* having committed *Cappadocia* to the Care of *Abistamenes*, and marching into *Cilicia*, came to the place call'd, the Camp of *Cyrus*. It was so call'd from *Cyrus* his Tent, which was in this place when he marched into *Lydia* against *Crœsus*. This is about Fifty Furlongs distant from the entrance into *Cilicia*. The Inhabitants call the *Streights*, *Pylæ*, where Nature hath seem'd to imitate Art, to make a Fortification. *Arsames* at that time was Governour of *Cilicia* for *Darius*, who formerly had received advice of *Memnon*, what to do in such an Exigence; which advice he followed, and laid waste almost all *Cilicia* with Fire and Sword, leaving nothing but a Desart to his Enemy:

my: He ſpoil'd whatever might be commodious to them, reſolving to quit nothing but the bare ground. But all this availed nothing, being done too late; and by doing of which he omitted an opportunity of very much incommoding the Enemy. For had he got to theſe Streights of *Cilicia*, and gained the Top of the Mountain, he might have eaſily hindred *Alexander*'s entrance, if not cut off all his Men. Inſtead of this he retreated, leaving only ſome Parties in by-ways, after he had waſted and ſpoil'd the Country, he ought, and might ſo eaſily have defended. They that were left behind, ſuppoſing themſelves in danger of being betrayed, ſtayed not ſo long as to look the Enemy in the face, though a leſs number might have defended the place. For *Cilicia* lies almoſt encloſed with a continued Ridge of a ſteep and rocky Mountain, which riſeth from one Sea, and runs along to the other with many turnings and windings: through that part which is fartheſt from the Seas, are Three Paſſages, all narrow and uneven; One leads into a large Plain towards the Sea, in which are very pleaſant Meadows, by the Rivers *Cydnus* and *Pyramus*, which riſe out of the Top of the Mountain. *Cydnus* is famous for its pleaſantneſs; for it runs with a clear ſtream through delightful Fields, having no muddy Water mingled with it; ſo that it flows with a gentle courſe, and as pure into the Sea as from its Fountain; neither do the cool Shades of the Trees that grow on the Bank, add a little to the pleaſantneſs of it. Time had left but few of thoſe many Rarities celebrated by the ancient Poets. They ſhowed here the places where ſtood the Cities *Lyrneſſus* and *Thebes*, the Cave of *Typhon*, the *Corycian* Grove, in which grew the famous

mous Perfume call'd *Crocus*, not unlike our Saffron, with many other things, whose Name only remained.

When *Alexander* came to look upon the Streights he blessed, and wondred at his good Fortune; for he confessed, that all his men might have been repulsed, even with the stones; scarce Four men could march a breast through the passage, over which hanged a piece of the Mountain; The way was very uneven, and often interrupted by Rivulets, which arose out of the Foot of the Hill. Before the Body of his Army moved, he sent some light *Thracians* to scour before, to prevent Ambuscades, and ordered his Archers to march in order and readiness to fight, if necessity required. In this order came they to *Tarsos*, which the *Persians* set fire to, thinking the Town too rich to fall into the Enemies hand. But the mischief was prevented by sending *Parmenio* with a Party lightly armed, who put the *Barbarians* to flight, and extinguishing the fire, secured the City, into which *Alexander* entred. It was then Summer-time, which season of the Year is hotter in no place than *Cilicia*; and it was in the heat of the Day, when *Alexander*, being all over Dust and Sweat, and seeing the clearness of the Water, was enticed by it to wash his Body; wherefore undressing himself in the sight of the whole Army, desiring perhaps that they should see his Cloaths differed not from theirs, went into the River: but at his very entrance, first a chilness and trembling seized all his Body, which was followed by a paleness and a deadly Numbness. In this sad condition his attendants took him up, and carried him to his Tent: But incredible was the sorrow that was spread through the whole

whole Camp: All ſeemed ſenſible of the lamentable Condition they were in, and ſeemed extreamly grieved, that a Prince who had ſo often been victorious in the Field, ſhould die by bathing his Body in the River. They heard *Darius* was nigh; and if *Alexander* ſhould not recover, he would be Conquerour before he came to ſee his Enemy. They thought, that now like Slaves, and conquered Men, they muſt fly through thoſe Countries themſelves had conquered; through thoſe Countries which both they and their Enemies had laid waſte, and die perhaps with Hunger in the miſerable journey. 'Twas ſometimes the Queſtion, who ſhould lead them; who would, or durſt ſucceed ſuch a General as *Alexander?* Whoſe Navy ſhould tranſport them over the *Helleſpont*, if they could eſcape thither? Sometimes their grief for the King was turned into pity of him: That a Prince of ſuch Courage and good Nature, that was equally the Fellow-Soldier, and Commander, ſhould in the Prime of his Years be taken from them, forgetting the Condition he would leave them in at his departure.

In the mean while *Alexander* began to take his Breath with more eaſe, and opened his Eyes by degrees, as his Spirits returned; ſo that he began to know his Friends that were about him; and the Diſeaſe ſeemed ſomething abated, when he grew ſenſible of the greatneſs of the danger he was in. But the Diſſatisfaction and Diſorder of his Mind added much to the illneſs of his Body; For 'twas reported, *Darius* was within Five Days March from *Cilicia*: he began therefore to bemoan his ill Fortune; That his Victory was ſnatched from him; That he ſhould be taken,

and die an ignoble Death in his Enemies Tent: Thus therefore he delivered his Mind to his Counsellors and Physicians.

"You see in what juncture of affairs my ill "Fortune hath surprised me: Methinks I now "hear the Enemies clashing Armour, and those "challenging me to fight, whom I first invaded. "*Darius*, indeed, when he wrote his proud Letters "to me, considered my Fortune; but if by my "own will I could work the Cure, how should he "be mistaken? My Condition must not make "use of the methodical proceeding of lazy Phy-"sicians; let me therefore die a present Death, "rather than wait so long for my Health till it be "too late to enjoy it. And if there be any Help "or Art in Physicians, know that I do not so "much seek the Remedy of the Disease, as of the "danger I am in.

This seeming rashness cast a fear upon all, and all began to advise him, not to endanger his Health by too much haste, but commit himself to the Care of his Physicians. They were afraid that any Medicine but what was of known estimation and use, should be used; because many had been wrought with by *Darius* to make him away, for a Bribe of a Thousand Talents. Among his Nobles there was one *Philip*, an excellent Physician, who was an *Acarnanian* by Birth, and followed *Alexander* from *Macedon*. He was well beloved of the King, for having been his Companion in his Youth, and a no less lover of the King, not only as he was King, but as one whose Health he was to take care of. This *Philip* promised to apply such a Remedy as should be sharp indeed, but not deadly; yet strong enough to carry off the Disease in a short time. The

pro-

promiſe ſeem'd raſh to all, and pleaſed only him at whoſe utmoſt peril the Experiment was to be made; for *Alexander* could endure any thing at that time better than delay. The *Idea* of a Battle was ſtill in his Mind; and he thought himſelf ſecure of Victory, if he could but appear at the head of his Army. And although the Phyſician had promiſed to effect this in the ſpace of Three Days, yet he ſeemed diſcontented. But in the mean while he received Letters from *Parmenio*, the moſt truſty of all his Nobility, which forewarned him to truſt himſelf with *Philip*, for that he was bribed by *Darius* with a Thouſand Talents, and the promiſe of his own Siſter to be given him in Marriage. He was extreamly troubled at this, and ſeriouſly debated whatever his hopes on one ſide, or his fears on the other could ſuggeſt.. *Shall I raſhly*, ſaid he, *drink the Potion? If it be Poyſon, who will lament that Death I drew voluntarily on my ſelf? On the contrary, why ſhould I ſuſpect my Phyſician, and ſtay to be baſely murdered in my Bed? No! let rather another's Treaſon, than my own Fears, be the cauſe of my Death.* Thus was he a great while diſtracted, but ſuffered no man to look in the Letter, which he ſealed with his own Signet, and laid under his Pillow. Two Days he ſpent in canvaſing this Doubt; and the Day appointed for the Cure being come, accordingly entred the Phyſician with the Potion prepared in a Cup. *Alexander* raiſing himſelf upon his Elbow, with his left hand gave *Philip* the Letter of *Parmenio*, and received the Phyſick from him in his right, which at one Draught he drank up undauntedly: after that he ordered him to read the Letter, thinking to perceive the guilt of his Conſcience by his change of Countenance.

tenance. The Phyſician read the Information, and with a Countenance that ſhowed more anger than fear, thus encouraged the King: "I "confeſs, moſt gracious Sovereign, that my life "ever depended on your pleaſure; but now "more particularly it doth on that, and your re-"covery; which latter, I hope, will manifeſt my "Innocence of the Treaſon I am accuſed of. "Upon the condition of your recovery, and no "otherwiſe, do I deſire my life ſhould be ſaved. "In the mean time, lay aſide, I beſeech you, all "ſuſpicion, that the Remedy may have the bet-"ter Operation on your body; let it diſperſe it "ſelf through the Veins, without thinking of "thoſe things which your other Attendants have "put into your Mind, whom I believe to be "really loyal; but never was their Loyalty more "unſeaſonable. The Phyſician's Encouragement did not only free *Alexander* from Doubt, but made him joyful, and put him in great hopes of his recovery; and he thus anſwered *Philip*:

"Whatever other occaſion thou mighteſt have "deſired of Heaven to give teſtimony of my "Love and Eſtimation of thee, a greater thou "could'ſt not have asked, nor they given; for "notwithſtanding *Parmenio*'s Letter, I drank what "you prepared, and am now ſatisfied, that you "are equally deſirous of my Health, as of the "good Opinion I have of your Fidelity.

When he had ſpoken this, he gave him his Hand to kiſs. Nevertheleſs, the Potion ſo wrought with him, that *Parmenio*'s Accuſation almoſt was verified. For he breathed very hardly, and ſwooned often; but by *Philip*'s care, with rubbing him with warmed Cloaths, and applying ſtrong Spirits, was recovered again. When

he

he came to himſelf, *Philip* put him in mind of his Mother and Siſters, and the great Victory that attended him. But as ſoon as the Medicine had had its juſt Operation, there appeared manifeſt ſigns of his health; Firſt, his drooping Spirits were quickned, and then his body received ſtrength incredibly; ſo that within Three Days after he had been in that miſerable condition, he appeared in the ſight of his whole Army. With what Joy all look't upon him there, it is not to be imagined; but with no leſs did they admire *Philip* than him, who like a God had performed ſuch Miracles. For beſides the natural inclination that the People of that Nation have to reverence their King, they had a more than ordinary conceit of *Alexander*; for his very Raſhneſs, becauſe fortunate, was accounted Valour; and he ſeemed to attempt nothing but what Heaven was bound to make proſperous. His Age too, being yet too tender to perform great things, doubled the Eſtimation of many of his Actions. To all theſe were added his familiar behaviour, the likeneſs of his Habit to their own, of his Exerciſe to theirs, the Excellence of his Wit, and the greatneſs of his Courage; ſo that thoſe Virtues which out of the Camp would not have been ſo acceptable, created a great Eſteem and Veneration of him there.

*Darius* in a little time having news of the ſickneſs of *Alexander*, with all the ſpeed he could, advanced with his unwieldy Army towards the River *Euphrates*, which he could not paſs over under the ſpace of Five Days; and from thence he haſted into *Cilicia*. But *Alexander* being perfectly recovered, was come to the City *Solos*; and raiſing Two Hundred Talents, by way of a

Tax, put a Garriſon into the Caſtle. Here he celebrated certain Plays to the Honour of *Æſculapius* and *Minerva*, for the re-gaining his health; at which, his behaviour ſhowed how little he valued the Enemy he had to encounter with: And to add to his Mirth at the Entertainment, he had a Meſſage, that his men had defeated the *Perſians*, and that the *Mindians* and *Caunians* were brought under his ſubjection, and many more Nations on that ſide of the Country.

Immediately after the Sports he marched forward; and having paſſed the River *Pyramus*, came to the City *Mallon*, and from thence, in another Day's March he came to a City call'd *Caſtabulum*. Here *Parmenio* met him, whom he ſent before to ſcour the by-ways, and ſecure his Journey to the Town call'd *Iſſus*; which he had done, and taken poſſeſſion of the Town, being deſerted by the Inhabitants: Beyond it too he had ſcour'd the Hills of all Ambuſcades, and ſet Scouts of his own in their room, and returned the Meſſenger of his own Exploits.

The King being arrived at *Iſſus*, call'd a Council of War, and debated what was beſt to be done, either to go forward, and meet *Darius*, or ſtay in that Town until his Succours, he expected from *Macedon*, ſhould joyn with him. Of theſe Two Propoſitions, *Parmenio* urged the latter to be the ſafer, becauſe here was a great Convenience for *Alexander*'s Forces, in the narrowneſs of the place, which would not ſuffer all *Darius* his Men to engage at once. Large Champaign places were to be avoided, leſt his Army ſhould be ſurrounded, and his Men tired out, though not conquered, by ſuch continual ſupplies of freſh

fresh Men. This good Counsel was at the first Motion approved of, and in the Streights they resolved to wait for *Darius* his Approach.

In the *Macedonian* Army there was one *Sisenes*, a *Persian*, who in King *Philip*'s time had voluntarily left his Country for *Macedon*, where he was very well entertained. He came from thence with *Alexander*, and was in great repute with him. To him were brought Letters from *Nabarzanes*, a Captain of *Darius*, by a *Cretian* Souldier: the Letters were sealed with a strange Seal, and in them *Nabarzanes* prompted him to murther *Alexander*, commending it as a glorious Deed, that would suit with his Noble Birth and Education. The innocent man delaying to acquaint the King with the Letter, as fearing to disturb him, who was much involved in business, and waiting for a fit opportunity, gave occasion for himself to be suspected; for the Letter had before been read to *Alexander*, and sealed with an unknown Signet; afterwards was given to *Sisenes*, to make trial of his Loyalty, who because in a considerable time he appeared not before the King, was by his Command put to Death by the *Cretian* Souldiers.

By this time *Darius* had received the *Grecian* Supplies, under the Command of *Thymondas*, who received them from *Pharnabasus*. In these he reposed his greatest, if not his only confidence. They perswaded him to retreat, and fight in the large Plain of *Mesopotamia*: Or at least, that he would divide his Forces, and not hazard all his Empire upon the uncertainty of one Battle. *Darius* himself approved of this Counsel, but his Captains, they alledged,

That

That their Fidelity, which was to be bought, was wavering and uncertain; That their Advice of dividing the Army, was only to get a better opportunity of revolting to *Alexander*: Laſtly, that their Opinion was, to place them in the midſt of the Army, and cut them off for the Treaſon they were ſure they intended. But the King, who religiouſly obſerved his Promiſe, and was of a mild Diſpoſition, declared he would not ſuffer his Souldiers to hurt them, who had offered him their Service. He alledged, No Nation would truſt him for the future, if he made the Lives of ſo many thouſand Men the Monument of his Infidelity. That henceforth none would give him Advice, if every one, for that which was not accepted, ſhould be puniſhed with Death. That of thoſe among them who adviſed him not for the beſt, he ſuſpected none for want of good will. Wherefore he told the *Græcians*, he could not in Honour retreat, becauſe that ſo much ground he ſeemed to yield to his Enemies as he went back. That that Report was of great importance in War, and that if he retreated, he ſeemed to fly. His farther Opinion was, That to defer the Battle would be inconvenient, becauſe Winter came on, and the Country being not very fruitful, his vaſt Army would want Proviſion. Againſt the dividing his Forces, he urged the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, from which he could not vary, and who had always ventured their whole Forces in a Fight. He added, That *Alexander*, who in his abſence, thought himſelf terrible and invincible, now became leſs proud and more adviſed; and at his approach, like the baſeſt ſort of Beaſts at the noiſe of Paſſengers, hid him-

himſelf in the narrow and mountainous places: That he had deceived his Souldiers with his feigned Sickneſs: but he would ſet upon him in his Den, if he delayed any longer to come forth. Theſe great words he ſpake with more Pride than Truth or Courage. And ſending his Money, and precious things to *Damaſcus*, a City in *Syria*, with a ſmall Guard of Souldiers, he led the reſt into *Cilicia*, after the manner of that Country, with his Wife and Mother in the Rear of the Army; but his young Son and his Daughters went along with him. It happened, that the ſame Night *Alexander* came to thoſe Streights which lead into *Syria*, the *Perſians* came to the place call'd *Amanicæ Pylæ*. They doubted not but that *Alexander* would deſert *Iſſus*, becauſe they had taken ſome few ſick and wounded men that could not follow, whoſe Hands the cruel inſulting Noblemen commanded to be cut off, and then leading them through the whole Army, commanded them to carry their King the number of it. *Darius* ſtraight paſſed the River *Pyramus*, to purſue *Alexander*, whom he thought to have fled. But they whom the *Perſians* had ſo mangled, ſoon came to the Camp, and reported it to *Alexander*, That *Darius* was juſt at his heels, marching with all the Expedition he could. They ſcarcely were believed; but to be ſure, *Alexander* ſent out Scouts, who were to go toward the Sea, and diſcover whether *Darius* with his whole Force, or only ſome to amuſe him, were approaching. They ſoon returned, and related what an incredible number they had ſeen; and ſoon after their fires throughout all the Camp were ſeen; which being ſpread for the convenience of Forrage, made ſuch a light, as if the whole Country had been

on

on fire. Whereupon *Alexander* commands his Camp to be placed there, exceeding glad that he was to fight in thoſe Streights. But now, as it very often falls out, his uſual Courage in Reſolution being near a Tryal, was a little daſh't. He conſidered, that his accuſtomed Fortune might now change, eſpecially becauſe he had ſo lately made tryal that it could. He thought how little the ſpace of one Night was between his being ſo great, and perhaps a conquered Slave. On the contrary, he call'd to mind, that the Danger was not ſo great as the Recompence would be, if he conquer'd. But as that was very uncertain, yet ſo far he was certain, that he ſhould die in the Bed of Honour. He commanded his Men to refreſh themſelves, and to be in Arms at the Third Watch of the Night. He himſelf, after the Cuſtom of his Country, went up to a Mountain, and performed Sacrifice to the *Genius* of the place. At the time appointed, the Souldiers had the Signal given them to march in the order they ſhould fight in, if aſſail'd; and commanded to go on undauntedly. At break of day they came to the Streights, where they intended to fight *Darius*. The Scouts gave them notice, that he was not above Thirty Furlongs off. *Alexander* therefore orders his Men to ſtand, and arming himſelf, he put them in the order they ſhould receive the Enemy in. The fearful Inhabitants told *Darius* the news of *Alexander*'s approach, which he ſcarce believed, being in purſuit of him. This Report ſtrangely affrighted *Darius* his Army; for being in a poſture fitter to travel than fight, and hurried by their Commanders to take up their Arms, they were much amazed; Some got upon the Top of the Mountain,

tain, to take a View of the Enemy; the Horſemen were making ready their Horſes; ſo that none minded the Word of Command, but were all in a great diſorder. *Darius* meaning to aſſail his Enemy on every ſide, placed ſome on the Mountain, others by the Sea which was on the Right Wing. Beſides, he ſent 20000. Men, with a Party of Archers, that ſhould paſs the River *Pyramus*, which ran between the Two Armies, and ſet upon the *Macedonians* that way; but if they found any inconvenience, to retreat and ſhelter themſelves in the Mountains, and by by-ways get on the back of their Enemies. This good and commendable Stratagem by ill fortune was defeated; for many of them being fearful, did not their Duty; and thoſe who did, not to the purpoſe, becauſe in whatever Deſign any of the Undertakers fail, the whole falls to the ground.

*Darius* his Army, as it was prepared for the Fight ſtood thus: The Right Wing was defended by *Nabarzanes*, with a part of the Cavalry, and a Band of Slingers and Archers amounting almoſt to 20000. With him was *Thymondas*, with the 30000. *Græcian* Mercenary Souldiers. This, without doubt, was the ſtrength of the Army, and able enough to encounter the *Macedonian Phalanx*. On the left Wing was *Ariſtomedes*, a *Theſſalian*, with 20000. *Barbarian* Foot, having placed for his ſuccour thoſe who had the Repute of the moſt valiant. In the ſame Wing was *Darius*, with his Life-guard, conſiſting of 3000. Horſe, and beſides 40000. Foot. Next the *Hyrcanian*, and *Median* Horſe, and thoſe of the other Nations. The *Forlorn Hope* conſiſted of 6000. Slingers, and Caſters of Darts. Thus was

all

all the Plain covered with armed Men; and one Wing of the Army reached to the Sea, the other to the Mountain. *Darius*, his Wife and Mother, were in the main body of the Army.

On the other ſide, *Alexander* placed his *Phalanx* in the Front, than which the *Macedonians* had nothing more ſtrong. The Right Wing was commanded by *Nicanor*, *Parmenio*'s Son. Next him ſtood *Cænos*, and *Perdiccas*, *Meleager*, and *Ptolomy*, and *Amyntas*, who all had their ſeveral Commands allotted them. In the left Wing towards the Sea, were *Craterus* and *Parmenio*, but the latter Commander in chief. On each Wing were Horſemen, on the Left the *Peloponneſians*, on the Right the *Macedonians* and *Theſſalians*. In the main body were the Slingers and Archers. In the Front were the *Thracians* and *Cretians*, lightly armed. He took notice of the Men *Darius* had placed on the Mountain, and ordered a Party of the *Agrians*, who were freſh, being newly come from *Greece*, to obſerve and oppoſe them. He ordered *Parmenio* to extend the Wing he commanded, as much toward the Sea as he could, to avoid his being ſurrounded by thoſe who were placed on the Mountain: But this Counſel proved but ſuperfluous; for they neither reſiſted them as they came, nor offered to incloſe them, but fled at the very ſight of the Slingers. This happened very fortunately to *Alexander*, freeing that ſide of his Army from a danger he was much afraid of, from the advantage they had on the higher ground. The *Macedonians* went 32. in a Rank; and as the place grew wider, increas'd them on each ſide with the Horſe.

Now

Now were the Two Armies within ſight, and not a Bow-ſhoot off each other. The *Perſians* gave a confuſed, but a terrible Shout, and were anſwered by the *Macedonians*, who though far fewer in number, yet with the advantage of the Echoing Rocks and Mountains, ſeem'd to equal their noiſe. *Alexander* rode before their Ranks, and commanded them not to run on ſo furiouſly as to take away their Breath; and exhorted them in ſeveral Speeches, according to their ſeveral Conditions: "I ſhall, ſaid he, put the Couragious *Macedonians* in mind of their Experienc't "Valour; That Valour with which, and their "Skill in Military Affairs, together with my own "Conduct, they have bravely gain'd ſo many "famous Victories in *Europe*; That Valour, I "hope they bring with them towards the conquering of all *Aſia*. The Pillars of *Hercules*, "and the Bounds of *Bacchus* they ſhall leave "behind them; nor ſhall they reſt till they have "made themſelves Maſters of the whole World. "Theirs ſhall be the Country of the *Bactrians* "and *Indians*, to which all they have already "ſeen are, in compariſon, nothing. Inſtead of the "hard and barren Rocks of *Thrace* and *Illyria*, "you ſhall here, ſaid he, find ineſtimable Pearls, "and all the rich Spoils of the flouriſhing *Eaſt*; "and for all this ye ſhall ſcarce need to fight a"gainſt an Army already wavering, and who by "being reſiſted only, will be conquered. Remem"ber my Father *Philip*; for ſure you cannot yet "forget him, and the Battles ye have fought under "him, the Conqueſt of *Bœotia*, and the famous "City *Thebes*: much leſs need I recall to your "Memory the Battle of *Granicus*, and all the Ci"ties which in your March have yielded to, or

"been

" been ſubdued by you. The reſt who own " *Greece* for their Countrey, may remember how " oft the *Perſians* have made in-roads into it; and " of *Darius* and *Xerxes*, whoſe Army conſumed " even their Rivers, and all manner of Proviſion. " Think, ſaid he, of your Cities, and Temples " which they have ruined and burnt, ſack'd and " deſtroyed, and the Truces they have broken. To the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*, that were uſed to live by prey, " Behold, ſaid he, their ſhining " Army, their Pomp and Splendor in their Appa- " rel, who have brought Prey, not Armour into " the Field. Go, take theſe rich Accoutrements " from the Effeminate owners, and change the " cold and barren Rocks of your own Country, " for the pleaſant and fruitful Fields of conquer'd " *Perſia*.

The Armies were now within a Dart's throw of each other. The *Perſian* Horſe gave the firſt Onſet very furiouſly on the Enemies Left Wing; for *Darius* choſe to uſe his Horſe, becauſe he knew the chief ſtrength of the *Macedonian* Army lay in their *Phalanx*.

The Left Wing of *Alexander*'s Army was by this time almoſt encompaſſed; but that he commanded Two Regiments of Horſe to the Foot of the Hill, and the reſt into the heat of the Fight. Then a Party of the *Theſſalian* Horſe being drawn out of the Battle, he commanded their Captain to retreat behind his own men to *Parmenio*, and to perform the Orders he had given: who preſently ruſh't into the midſt of the Enemies, and every where fought couragiouſly: A great while they made uſe of their Darts: but when they came ſo near, that they hindred one another, they drew their Swords. Then was there

there great effusion of blood, thrusting at each others faces with their Swords. The Coward could not there make use of his heels; but all setting foot to foot, they maintained their ground; nor gained any, but by stepping in the place of their slain Enemy. Thus fresh men coming on continually, and no place for the Wounded to retreat to, but their own men forcing them forward behind, they maintained the Battle. *Alexander* perform'd the Office of a Commander in his Conduct; of a common Souldier in his other Actions, desiring to end the Battle by his own hand in the Death of *Darius*. For he saw him sit on a high Throne, visible to both Armies, giving encouragement to one to attempt his life, to the other to defend it. But *Oxathres*, the Brother of *Darius*, perceiving *Alexander's* intent, clapt the Horse he commanded, before his Brother's Chariot. He was a man, in whom both Love and Loyalty to his Prince, and strength and Courage appeared very eminently. The *Macedonians* about *Alexander*, at the sight of this, encouraging one another, rushed into this Party of Horse. There was an incredible Slaughter: Many of *Darius* his Officers were slain before his Face, but all honourably, receiving their Wounds in their breast, and covering the place where they fought, with their dead Bodies. Those of note were *Atticles*, *Trountes*, and *Sabaces*, the last, Governour of *Ægypt*, all great Commanders; about these were many of the meaner sort. Some also, though not many of the *Macedonians* were slain, especially the most forward. *Alexander* himself had a slight Wound in his Thigh But now the very Horses of *Darius* his Chariot being wounded, began to shake, and almost overturn it:

Which he perceiving, mounted a Horſe prepared for that purpoſe, and choſe baſely to throw away his Kingly Garments, and fly, rather than to fall alive into the hands of his Enemies. His flight haſtned that of the reſt; every one began to throw away his Arms, which a little before he defended himſelf withal, and to fly; ſo little conſideration have men, when tranſported with fear.

As ſoon as *Parmenio* perceived them to give ground, he commanded his Horſe to purſue them, and ſecure them from rallying again, that he might be ſure of one Wings overthrow, and turn his help to the other, which was hardly preſſed on by the *Perſians*, being at firſt put to ſome Diſorder; but they wheel'd about, and ruſhing on them with great Courage, quite routed them, even when they thought themſelves ſecure of the Victory. The *Theſſalians* had a great advantage over the *Perſians*, in the quick managing of their Horſes; for the *Perſians* arm their Horſes as well as themſelves, which proved ſo troubleſome, that many of them were ſlain before they could turn or recover themſelves. As ſoon as *Alexander* had the news of the good ſucceſs of this Right Wing, he purſued the Enemy, which before he durſt not attempt, becauſe he was but half Conquerour. He had not above 1000. Horſe in the chace with him, yet he ſlew many thouſands of thoſe he purſued. They ran from them like Sheep, and as ſuch were ſlain; their very fear which made them fly, being the cauſe of their delay. But great was the difference between the manner of the *Græcians* flight that fought for *Darius*, and that of the *Perſians*; thoſe under the Conduct of *Amyntas*, one who was formerly one of *Alexander*'s Captains,

but

but was now a *Renegado*, retreated in no great diſorder. Theſe fled divers ways, ſome the right way to *Perſis*, ſome into by-paths, and the tops of Mountains; the feweſt of all followed *Darius*.

By this time the *Macedonians* were come into the Enemies Camp, which abounded with all ſorts of Wealth. They found vaſt quantities of Gold and Silver, an Evidence rather of their Luxury, than of Preparations for a War: Their old luggage they left ſcattered in the way, and loaded themſelves with richer booty. At laſt, coming to the Women, they the more violently plundered them, becauſe they knew they eſteemed what they loſt; nay, even to their Bodies did their Rage and Luſt extend.

All places were fill'd with hideous Cries and Lamentations of all Ages and Sexes, tormented by the Rage of mercileſs Conquerours. But in nothing was the change of Fortune ſeen more, than in this, that *Darius* his Tent, furniſhed with all Art and Coſt for him, was now preſerved to entertain *Alexander* in; it being the Cuſtom of the *Macedonians* to preſerve the King's Tent untouched, which they have conquered, for their King to take poſſeſſion of. But the Captive Mother, and Wife of *Darius*, above all, moved the Compaſſion of the Enemy; the one as venerable for Majeſty and Age, as the other admirable for Beauty. In the Mothers boſom lay her Son, not yet Six Years of Age, and born to all that Glory and Splendor his Father had lately loſt. In her lap lay likewiſe Two of her Daughters already Women, ſwooning with their own, and at their Mothers grief. About them ſtood a great Company of their Attendants, with diſhevel'd Hair,

and torn Cloaths, unmindful indeed of their former Pride and Luxury; but ſtill calling them by the Names of Queens, which formerly they could boaſt, but now were deprived of. They deſired to know in what part of the Army *Darius* ſtood, how the day went, ſeeming to forget their ſorrow, and denying themſelves to be Captives ſo long as the King was alive, who by changing Horſes had eſcaped a great way.

Of the *Perſians* were ſlain 100000. Foot, and 10000. Horſe. But how little did this great Victory coſt *Alexander*? for he loſt but 302. Foot, having 504. wounded, and 150. Horſe ſlain outright.

*Alexander* being weary of the Purſuit of *Darius*, and Night coming on, began to think it impoſſible to overtake him: He returned therefore to the Enemies Camp, which his Souldiers had taken poſſeſſion of for him, and commanded with all ſpeed a Banquet to be prepared, and his Courtiers invited; for the Wound in his Thigh was ſo ſmall, that it hindred not his being preſent at it. As they ſate at the Entertainment, a confuſed and dreadful cry was heard from the next Tent; which was ſo great, that thoſe who were upon Duty, fearing it the beginning of a greater miſchief, began to arm themſelves. The cauſe of the Diſturbance was this: One of the Captive Eunuchs ſeeing ſome Garment which *Darius* uſually wore, but now had thrown it away, for fear of being betrayed by it, carried by a Souldier that had found it, by the Door of the Tent, ſuppoſing that *Darius* was kill'd, and that taken from him, brought the news of his Death to his Mother and Wife, who upon that, with their Attendants, ſuppoſing the King ſlain, made this

ter-

terrible Outcry. Which miſtake, when *Alexander* found out, he conſidered more ſeriouſly *Darius* his Fortune, and their love to him, and is reported to have ſhed ſome Tears for them.

Firſt he ſent one *Mithrenes* who had betrayed *Sardes* to him, to complement them, and endeavour to comfort them in their ſorrow: but afterward calling to mind his Treaſon, and thinking that might make his Conſolation the more unwelcome, he ſent one *Leonatus*, a Nobleman, to aſſure them from him, that *Darius* was yet alive. The Nobleman went to deliver his Meſſage, and with him a few men armed; which when thoſe who attended at the Princeſſes Tent perceived, they ran in, and told them their fatal Hour was come, and their Murtherers approaching to diſpatch them. When *Leonatus* came to the Tent-door, he found none who durſt introduce him, or hinder his entrance, fearing the Deſign he came upon. He ſtayed a long while, expecting that he, by whom he had ſent his Meſſage to the Two Princeſſes, ſhould have brought him in; but ſeeing no body come, he left his Attendants without, and went into the room alone. This intruſion, as they thought it, added to the fear of the Ladies, who fell down at his Feet, and began to intreat him, that they might inter the Body of *Darius* after their own manner, before he executed his Command on them: That after they had performed this, they would yield up themſelves to be ſlain. *Leonatus* aſſured them, that *Darius* was alive, and that they ſhould live, and be treated with all the reſpect they formerly had ſhown to them. At this *Darius* his Mother was a little ſatisfied, and ſuffer'd her ſelf to be raiſed up.

The next day *Alexander* ſpent in burying his Men, and permitted the *Perſians* of note to be interr'd, and thoſe whom *Siſygambis* deſired, after their own manner. She indeed performed the Funeral Rites of ſome of her Kindred, but with far leſs Pomp than the *Perſians* uſe; for ſhe was afraid, that might increaſe the Envy of the *Macedonians*, who, though Conquerours, were but meanly buried. When the ſad Solemnity was over, he ſent to the Two Queens, to let them know he would viſit them himſelf, and accordingly, ſoon after with a great Train of Attendants, entred the Tent, with *Hæpheſtion*. This *Hæpheſtion* was extreamly beloved of the King. For he had been brought up with him, and was privy to all his ſecret Conſultations; and not only ſo, but one, who with moſt confidence, adviſed him; which *Alexander* ſeemed rather to permit than maintain. He was about the ſame Age as *Alexander*, and of a more comely and graceful Carriage: To him therefore the Queens made their firſt Addreſs; but the Eunuchs directed *Syſigambis* to *Alexander*, to whom ſhe excuſed her Errour in not knowing him, whom ſhe had never ſeen. To whom he replyed, "Your "Miſtake, Madam, is pardonable, ſince this alſo "is an *Alexander*. This was great Humility, which had he preſerved all his Life, after the Conqueſt of the *Eaſt*, and added to that Conqueſt the other of his Pride and Anger. Had he in his Drink not murthered his beſt Friends; had he after a Victory not put to Death many famous Men without a Cauſe, he had been far more happy, far more famous than even when he would have ambitiouſly been honoured equally with *Bacchus*. But as yet his good Fortune had not chang'd

chang'd his good Nature, as afterwards it did moſt notoriouſly. For at this time he behaved himſelf ſo mildly and gently, as never any Conquerour before him had done. To the Two young Ladies, with their Mother and Grandmother, he uſed the ſame reſpect, as if they had all been Siſters to him. He was ſo far from off'ring any uncivility to *Darius* his Wife, though as beautiful as any Woman of her Age, that he took great care that none elſe ſhould attempt it. He ordered, that all their Princely Apparel ſhould be reſtored to them; ſo that they enjoyed all they could wiſh for of their former Fortunes; that ſatisfaction of mind only excepted, which none but who are at liberty can enjoy. So that *Syſigambis* was pleaſed thus to complement him: "That you deſerve, gracious Sir, from us the "ſame prayers which we make for *Darius*, your "many Favours do teſtify; and for ought I ſee, "you ſurpaſs him as far in happineſs as you do "in Juſtice and Mercy. You are pleaſed to call "me, who acknowledg my ſelf your Servant, "your Queen and Mother. Although I am ſen-"ſible from what I am fallen, yet I can bear the "utmoſt of my preſent Fortune; ſo that it is in "your power, whether by your Clemency I ſhall "enjoy the one, or through your cruelty ſuffer "the other. *Alexander* deſired them to fear nothing, and taking *Darius* his Son in his Arms, embraced him. The Child was nothing affrighted, though with a ſtrange Perſon, but hugged him about the Neck very lovingly. Which thing moved the King ſo much, that turning to *Hæpheſtion*, he ſaid," I could wiſh *Darius* had ſomething of "this Diſpoſition in him. Thus he parted from the Queens, and upon Three Altars erected on

the Bank of *Pyramus*, he performed Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Minerva*. After this he ſent *Parmenio* to *Damaſcus*, where *Darius* had laid up his Treaſure, and followed himſelf towards *Syria*.

But *Parmenio* by the way, heard, that *Darius* had ſent a Nobleman, who was got to *Damaſcus* before him, and conſidering he had but a ſmall power with him, he intended to ſend for ſome Supplies. In the mean time, the Spies he had ſent out before, to learn the Poſture of the Enemy, ſeized on a Man whoſe Name was *Mardus*; They brought him to *Parmenio*, to whom he gave ſome Letters from the Governour of *Damaſcus*, directed to *Alexander*; adding, that he was of Opinion, that the Place and Riches would be yielded up to him. *Parmenio* ordered him to be kept, and opening the Letters, found, that the Governour deſired *Alexander* to ſend ſome one of his Captains ſpeedily, with a ſmall Band of Men. Whereupon he ſent *Mardus* back to the Traitor, with a Guard, to ſecure him; but he by ſome means eſcaping from them, got to the City before break of day. This Miſchance troubled *Parmenio*; for he began to miſtruſt ſome Stratagem, and at firſt durſt not venture forward without a Guide. But at laſt conſidering the Fortune of the King he ſerved, he took ſome Peaſants for his Guides, and on the *4th* Day arrived at the City, where he found that the Governour was afraid he was not believed in his Treaſon: For as ſoon as *Parmenio* came, he found all the Riches and Treaſures of the Place, which the *Perſians* call *Gaza*, brought out of the Town, and the Governour pretended to be fled, on purpoſe to betray it to the *Macedonians*. There followed him out of the Town many Thouſands

of

of Men, Women and Children, a miſerable Spectacle, and which would have moved the Pity of any but him to whom they were betrayed: Nor was the yielding up of the Riches all the Traitor aimed at, but he deſigned a more acceptable and precious booty, as he thought, the Wives of divers Noblemen, who were kept in the Town, and the very Embaſſadors that came out of *Greece* to *Darius*, whom he had placed there as the moſt ſecure place. Thoſe men who carried the Treaſure, call'd by the *Perſians*, *Gangabæ*, finding themſelves ſtiff and numb with cold (for it was at that time a hard Froſt, and abundance of Snow had fallen), covered themſelves with the rich Garments embroidered with Gold and Silver; nor was there any to hinder them from the Licentiouſneſs in *Darius* his Adverſity. Theſe at ſome diſtance *Parmenio* thought were ſent to oppoſe him, who appearing not inconſiderable, in a ſhort Harangue he encouraged his Souldiers, and clapping Spurs to his Horſe, ſet upon them as an Enemy. They that carried the burthens were much affrighted, and caſting down what they bore, ran away, as did alſo the Convoy that followed them, into by-paths which they were acquainted with. Thus the fear the Governour pretended, really affected both Parties. All the Fields were covered with the Royal Treaſure: The Treaſure which was prepared for the maintenance of ſo numerous an Army, lay in heaps: All the rich Ornaments of ſo many Noblemen and Women, were there ſcattered: Here lay Veſſels of Maſſy Gold, there Golden Furniture of Horſes; in another place whole Carriages of inеſtimable Treaſure. A ſight wonderful and pitiful to the very Conquerors, if Avarice did not re-

reſtrain all pity. What more deplorable than to ſee all thoſe Riches gathered together in the flouriſhing State of the Empire, ſome torn with Briars, others ſoiled and buried in Dirt, as if returning into the Earth, from whence they were once taken. So great was the Prey, that there were too few to carry it away.

At laſt they overtook thoſe that firſt began to fly, where were many Women with their ſmall Children, and among theſe, Three Virgins, the Daughter of *Ochus*, the laſt King before *Darius*, who were inured to miſery, being fallen by their Father's Misfortune to a condition below their Birth, now into one below all comfort, into the hand of their Conquerours; With them were the Wife of *Ochus*, and of *Oxathres*, *Darius*'s Brother; the Wife alſo of *Artabaſus*, the chief of the Nobility, and a Son call'd *Ilioneus*. Here was the Wife of *Pharnabazus*, Chief Commander of the Sea-Port Towns, and his Son; Three Sons of *Mentor*, the Wife of *Memnon*, the famous and Experienc'd Captain, and his Son: In ſhort, ſcarce was there any Noble Family in *Perſia*, but ſuffered in this loſs. Many *Græcians* alſo, as *Ariſtogiton*, *Dropides*, and *Eleutherius*, *Athenians*, *Periſippus*, *Onomaſtorides*, *Omaius*, *Callicratides*; *Lacedæmonians*; all of Noble Families, and great Perſonages, contrary to the Law of Arms, were taken for having aided the *Perſians*.

Of Money coyned they took 2060. Talents; of Maſſy Silver 500. Beſides 30000. Men carrying Burthens, with 7000. Beaſts. But the Gods manifeſtly puniſhed the Traitor with a ſudden Death: For one of his Accomplices cut off

off his Head, and carried it to comfort *Darius*, whom he considered as his Prince, and pitied as thus betrayed. A comfort indeed it proved to the King; for then he seemed to revive, and not think himself quite forgot, since he was revenged on such a notorious Treason.

*The end of the Third Book.*

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The

# The Fourth Book.

DARIUS (who a little before had ſeen himſelf at the Head of ſo great an Army, that he came into the Field with as much Confidence of the Victory, as much Splendor and Magnificence, as if he had been to triumph, not to fight with ſo Potent an Enemy) now fled through the vaſt Plains which then were deſert and ſolitary, though lately filled with his numerous Forces. He had a very few who accompanied him in his Flight, ſome chooſing a way different from him, as ſafeſt; others could not keep pace with him, who ſo often changed Horſes. At laſt he came to a place call'd *Unchæ*, where 4000. *Greek* Souldiers met him; with theſe he marched towards *Euphrates*, looking upon ſo much of his Kingdom to be yet ſafe, as he could take poſſeſſion of before *Alexander* came.

In the mean time *Parmenio* was made Governour of all *Syria*; and to his Care were committed the Booty, and the Priſoners he had taken at *Damaſcus*. *Syria* was a place that had not ſmarted much in the War: The Inhabitants therefore could not brook at firſt a new ſort of Government, but often revolted in many places, and as often were ſubdued, and at laſt became tractable and obedient.

Soon

Soon after *Strato*, who was King of the Iſland *Naxus*, and all the Sea-Coaſt, and many Inland Towns, put himſelf, and all his Dominions under the Protection of *Alexander*, who removed his Camp to *Marathon*. At this place he received Letters from *Darius*, in which his Pride and haughty Mind very much enraged *Alexander*. But what he reſented moſt was, that even yet he ſtiled himſelf King, not giving the ſame to his Conquerour, commanding, as it were, that he ſhould reſtore him his Wife and Daughters, for whoſe Ranſom he was yet able to give him as much Money as his ſmall Kingdom of *Macedon* was worth. As for his Empire he would win, or loſe it in a ſet battle; but if he was ſo wiſe as to be adviſed, and quit all he had gotten of his, and go home to his own Territories, he was willing to enter into a League with him Offenſive and Defenſive. To this *Alexander* ſent his Anſwer.

## King ALEXANDER to DARIUS.

DArius (*by whoſe Name you are called*), *if Hiſtory tell true, long ago laid waſte all the* Greek *Cities on the Coaſt of the* Helleſpont; *all the* Ionian *Colonies on that ſide. Neither was he content with this, but paſſing the Sea with a vaſt Army, made an Inroad into* Greece *and* Macedon. *A little after,* Xerxes, *your Predeceſſor, with a prodigious Army, made a Second Invaſion; but being overcome in a Sea-fight, himſelf retreated; yet left his General* Mardonius, *who in his abſence ſhould*

*ſpoil*

*ſpoil all* Greece, *lay waſte the fruitful Fields, and raze the flouriſhing Cities. To this let me add the Death of my Father* Philip, *whoſe Murtherers you baſely corrupted and ſuborned with the Promiſe of a great Sum of Money. Thus unjuſtly do you begin a War, and thus cowardly carry it on, by your Endeavours to murther thoſe baſely you are afraid to encounter with in the Field; witneſs the* 1000. *Talents you offered to any that ſhould be my Murtherer, even when you were leading ſo great an Army againſt me. The War therefore which at preſent I am engaged in, is in my own Defence; and the Gods, by giving Succeſs to my Arms, in conquering a great part of your Empire, have manifeſted the juſtice of my cauſe. I have conquered you your ſelf in the Field; and though I am not bound either by honour or gratitude, to grant you any Requeſt, as one who have violated the Law of Arms, yet I promiſe faithfully, if you come in the way your Condition requires, I will ſet at liberty your Wife and Children, even without a Ranſom. That I know to conquer, you have made Experience, and on this condition ſhall ſee I know as well how to deal honourably with thoſe I conquer. But if you doubt of your Safety here, I will promiſe you ſhall have a Conduct to bring you, and wait on you back. In the mean time, whenever you ſhall have occaſion to write to* Alexander, *remember you write to him not only as a King, but him alſo whom you ought to acknowledg your own.*

*Therſippus* was ſent to carry this Letter to *Darius*: In his return he took *Phœnicia* in his way, and received the City *Byblon* into ſubjection: From thence he came to *Sidon*, the *Metropolis* of *Strato*, and a City famous for the Antiquity of its Walls, and the Founders of them. This *Strato*, becauſe he

he yielded more by conſtraint of the Vulgar than of his own accord, was thought unfit to rule any longer. *Hæpheſtion* therefore was ſent to conſtitute him King whom they unanimouſly ſhould chooſe. There were many young Noblemen of his Acquaintance, to ſome of whom he offered the Crown, but all modeſtly refuſed it, alledging, That none but who was of the Royal Family ſhould wear it. He admired mightily the greatneſs of their Souls, who could ſo unconcernedly refuſe the offer of a Throne, to which ſo many would wade through Seas of Blood. "You, ſaid he, are certainly the firſt who truly "underſtand, how much more Noble 'tis to be "able to refuſe, than accept of a Kingdom; "chooſe therefore, if you can, one of the Blood "Royal, who will gratefully remember the Ju- "ſtice you have done him. This put many in great hopes, and upon making intereſt with *Alexander*'s Favourites by flattery; wherefore none was judged ſo fit by a general conſent, as one *Abdolonymus*, who was indeed of the Royal Blood, but whoſe Honeſty had brought upon him great Poverty; ſo that he lived upon the profit of a ſmall Garden in the Suburbs of the City, out of the noiſe of the Wars that diſturbed all *Aſia*. Preſently therefore they went, and coming into his Garden, found him weeding it himſelf, whom one of the Company, with a Royal Robe in his Hand, ſaluted King, in this manner; "That dirty and ſordid Garment, moſt "Dread Sovereign, muſt you change for this, "more becoming your Majeſty. That Duſt "muſt be waſhed away, which your long and "daily labour hath contracted. Take upon you "the State of a King, and create in your ſelf a

"Mind

" Mind ſuitable to it, but without changing your " former one: And wen you ſhall have the ab- " ſolute power over your Subjects Lives and For- " tunes, then remember the Condition you re- " ceiv'd that Power in; nay, even for which " you obtain'd the Kingdom.

When he had ſo ſaid, he, without delay, put upon him the Imperial Robes, who all the while look't upon what was done or ſpoken, as a plea- ſing Dream, or at leaſt, ſuſpected the Folly or Madneſs of thoſe who did it; till at length, all ſeriouſly paying him Homage, and ſwearing Al- legiance, he entred the Royal Palace.

The Report of this preſently ſpread very far; from ſome it found Approbation, but from the moſt, Contempt. The richeſt of his Competi- tors complained to *Alexander*, That his low and mean condition could not poſſibly render him capable of that Honour and Truſt. *Alexander* at laſt ſending for him, firſt looked narrowly on the Aſpect of his Body, and then ſaid he, " Your Carriage, Prince *Abdolonymus*, doth not " at all contradict the good Character I have " receiv'd of you: But I would know what life " you led in your Poverty. To this he anſwer- ed, " I wiſh I may be able to manage my King- " dom with as much pleaſure and happineſs as I " have tilled my Garden. Theſe Hands got my " Bread; and though I had no Abundance, yet " did never think I was pinched with Scarcity. This Anſwer gave *Alexander* great aſſurance of his Fidelity. Therefore he not only ratified his Subjects choice of him, and confirmed him in *Strato*'s Throne, but alſo gave much of the Prey he had taken, and added another Province to his Care and Protection.

Whilſt

Whilſt things were thus carried on, *Amyntas* who a little before had deſerted *Alexander*, fled with the 4000. *Græcians* under his Command to *Tripolis*, and there getting his Men a Shipboard, paſſed into *Cyprus*: There he deliberately conſidered the State of Affairs, which he took to be in that condition, that whatever place any one could firſt claim, would be his own; upon which concluſion he deſigned for *Egypt*, to take poſſeſſion of it as his own. He knew himſelf to be the Common Enemy of both the Warring Princes: wherefore he thought himſelf beſt able to ſubſiſt there. He told his Men, That *Sabaces*, the late Governour of that place, was ſlain in the Battle; that the Garriſons were very weak, and without any Leader too; or if never ſo able to reſiſt, yet they were accuſtomed to rebel againſt their Governours, and would eſteem all ſuch, as their Allies, not Enemies. To this he added, That neceſſity had inforced them to try their Fortune, which hitherto they had found unproſperous; wherefore, in all probability, better for the future was to be expected. They all unanimouſly conſented, that he ſhould lead them to what Enterpriſe he pleaſed. He preſently cauſed them to be brought to the Haven of *Peluſium*, while they were warm with the hopes of ſome Prize here: He pretended to be ſent from *Darius*; and after he had ſeized that place, he marched on to *Memphis*: Hither great Numbers of the *Egyptians* reſorted to him, in hopes utterly to deſtroy the *Perſian* Garriſons; For they are a People not Warlike, but upon whom any change will work great Effects, becauſe very ſuperſtitious: The *Perſians* were much terrified, nevertheleſs ſtill retain'd ſome hopes

hopes of not loſing the place. But *Amyntas* overcame them in a Fight, and beſieging *Memphis*, whither they were fled, ſpoiled all the Country about. *Mazeces*, the *Perſian* General, though he knew his Men were diſheartned at their defeat, yet perſwaded them to ſally out upon the beſiegers, and recover their loſt Reputation. This good Counſel had the Effect it deſerved; for they ſlew *Amyntas*, and every one of his Souldiers. This was the deſerved Reward of that notorious Traitor, who was neither true to his firſt Prince, nor to him to whom he revolted.

By this time *Darius* his Captains, whom *Alexander* had conquered at *Iſſus*, making a Head, and aided with ſome *Cappadocians*, and *Paphlagonians*, attempted to recover the Country of *Lydia*. *Antigonus* was *Alexander*'s Deputy there, who though he had weakened his Garriſons, to enforce *Alexander*'s Army, yet with great Reſolution, and Contempt of his Enemies, marched againſt them: And here the *Perſians* had no better Fortune than in other places, being conquered in Three ſeveral Battles. About the ſame time *Alexander*'s Fleet, which brought him Supplies from *Macedon*, met with *Ariſtomenes*, who was ſent by *Darius* to recover the Coaſt of *Helleſpont*, whom they engaged, and ſunk almoſt all his Ships. *Pharnabazus*, another of the *Perſian* Captains, raiſed Money out of *Mileſia*, and putting a Garriſon into *Chios*, went to *Andros* and *Siphnus*, with an hundred Sail of Ships.

Whilſt the Two moſt Potent Monarchs of *Europe* and *Aſia* were engaged in this War, *Greece* and the Iſland of *Creet*, were aſhamed to lie idle. *Agis*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, having got

got together 8000. *Greek* Souldiers, who came from *Cilicia* to their own Country, proclaimed War againſt *Antipater*, Regent of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, the *Cretians* ſometimes taking one part, ſometimes the other. But theſe Skirmiſhes, in reſpect of thoſe between *Alexander* and *Darius*, were inconſiderable, Fortune having already favour'd them with one Battle, on which the reſt did depend. All *Phœnicia*, and all *Syria*, except *Tyre*, a City of *Phœnicia*, were in the hands of the *Macedonians*. This City was ſo rich and populous, that it ſeemed more likely for *Alexander* to endeavour to make them his Friends than his Subjects; between it and his Camp, which was on the Continent, was an Arm of the Sea, which added to its ſtrength and ſafety. The Inhabitants ſent to him a Crown of Gold, and good ſtore of Proviſion for his Army. *Alexander* accepted of the Preſents, and entertain'd the Embaſſadors nobly; telling them his intent, to ſacrifice to *Hercules*, (whom the *Tyrians* worſhipped above all others) from whom he affirmed the Kings of *Macedon* were deſcended, and to whom himſelf was commanded to do Sacrifice by the Oracle. The Embaſſadors returned him this Anſwer, That without the Walls of their City, which they call *Palætyron*, there was a Temple dedicated to *Hercules*, which, if he pleaſed, he might make uſe of. At this he could not refrain his Paſſion, to which indeed he was too much addicted; but it brake out thus: "Do you truſt, ſaid he, in the "Situation of your City, which you eſteem an "Iſland, and think ye my Land-Forces cannot "ſubdue it? In a ſhort time I'le convince you, "that you are on the firm Continent, and will "enter, or raze your City to the ground.

With this Anſwer were they diſmiſſed, whom, after they came out of the King's Preſence, his Attendants exhorted to yield up their City, and not be the only Perſons that held out after all *Phœnicia* was ſubdued. But they refuſed to hear of any Compoſition, truſting to the Sea, which was Four Furlongs broad; and was ſo tempeſtuous, being ſubject to the *South-Weſt* Wind, that the *Macedonians* could not finiſh any work, even when it was moſt calm, much leſs when the Waves beating againſt it, waſhed any thing they could contrive, away. The Water either diſſolved the joyning of their Works, or overflowed them. Another Difficulty there was alſo, no leſs than the fore-mentioned one; namely, that the Fortifications ſtood ſo near the Sea, that no Engines to batter the Walls, no Ladders to ſcale them, could be uſed, unleſs they could from Ships, at a diſtance, ſhoot at the Walls. The Wall was ſo ſteep, and near the deep Water, that not an Inch of Land appeared. Neither had *Alexander* any Ships; or if he had, could he have done any harm to the Enemy, who were able to keep them off with Darts. Beſides all theſe Encouragements, another Accident greatly incenſed the *Tyrians*. It happened at that time, that the *Carthaginians* had ſent Embaſſadors to *Tyre*, to celebrate a yearly ſolemn Sacrifice uſed by them; For the *Carthaginians* owed to them the building of their City. and accordingly as their Founders they did reſpect them. Theſe preſently encouraged the *Tyrians* to maintain the Siege, and defend the City; adding, that they had great Fleets at Sea, and would in a ſhort time ſend them Aid.

Up-

Upon this, War was proclaimed, and the Walls ſet thick with Warlike Engines; their Armour given out among their Youth, and all their Workmen imployed to make more. Great was the Preparation for the War: They had Inſtruments to pull down what their Enemies built, and Iron Crows, with all things fit for the Defence of a City in a Siege. But it is reported, that as their *Smiths* were heating the Iron in the Fire, and blowing that with their Bellows, the Forges were ſeen to flow with Blood. This they interpreted as an ill *Omen* againſt the *Macedonians.* The like happened in the *Macedonian* Army; for one of the Souldiers breaking his Allowance of Bread, Blood immediately burſt out. This did not a little ſtartle *Alexander*, till *Ariſtander*, a moſt skillful *Sooth-ſayer*, thus expounded it; That if the Blood came out of the out-ſide, the Siege would prove fatal to the Beſiegers; if from the in-ſide, to the Beſieged.

*Alexander* in the mean time conſidering, that his Fleet was a great way off, and that a long Siege, ſuch as he muſt expect, would be a great hindrance to the reſt of his Affairs, ſent Meſſengers to perſwade the Enemy to yield up their City by fair means. The *Tyrians*, contrary to the Law of all Nations, ſlew them, and threw their Bodies into the Sea. This ſo enraged *Alexander*, that in revenge of their Death, he reſolved to beſiege it; and in order to it, to contrive ſome way to joyn it to the Continent. His Men were very much diſheartned, ſeeing before them a deep Sea, which could not be filled, or dried up, unleſs by a Miracle, and over which a whole Province could ſcarce

afford Wood enough for a Bridge, or Stones to fill it up withal; a Sea which was continually ſtormy and rapid, between the City and the main Land, by reaſon it was ſo narrow. *Alexander* perceived this Diſorder; and being well skilled in encouraging his Souldiers, thus ſpake to them: "In the Night, ſaid he, appeared to "me the Image of *Hercules*, and leading me with "his Right Hand, entred into the City. Let "this revive your Courage. Or will you ſuffer "your Country-men's Death, and the Violation "of the Law of all Nations to be violated? "No certainly, nor ſhall any one City be able to "ſtop the Current of our Victories.

After he had encouraged them as much as he could, he gave every one of his Captains their ſeveral Poſt. The Ruins of the old Town afforded him plenty of Stones, and Timber he had from Mount *Libanus*; ſo that in a little time the VVork, from the bottom of the Sea, was raiſed very high, not yet appearing above the VVater: but the farther they advanced from the Shoar, the VVater growing deeper, ſwallowed up whatever they put in.

VVhilſt they were thus buſied, the *Tyrians* would often ſcoffingly ask, how they could ſo ſlaviſhly, and like Beaſts, carry burthens, who were uſed to Manly and Heroick Exerciſes; adding, That it was Pride in *Alexander* to think himſelf able to oppoſe *Neptune*. Thus from their little Boats did they oft deride them; which very Deriſions the more encouraged them; ſo that now the VVork appeared above the VVater, and grew broader; whereupon they advanc't it nearer the City.

The

The *Tyrians* were a little ſurprized at the bulk of the floating Mountain, which was broader, and ſooner finiſhed than they could perceive at a diſtance. They began to throw Darts at the VVorkmen, ſurrounding it with ſmall Boats. They wounded many, being unhurt themſelves; which becauſe the *Macedonians* could not avoid, they began to make ſome defence for themſelves in their VVork. They ſet up Skins and Hides to defend themſelves, and raiſed two Towers at the Head of the VVork, from thence to annoy their Enemies. The *Tyrians* on the other ſide landed ſome Men out of ſight, and cut off many who carried Stones: And the *Arabian* Peaſants killed Thirty of thoſe who cut Wood, and took ſome Priſoners. Upon this *Alexander* divided his Forces, and to take away ſuſpicion of his ſtay before one City, he committed the management of the Affair to *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, himſelf marching into *Arabia*, with a choice Band of Souldiers.

In the mean time, the *Tyrians*, taking a great Ship, and putting a great quantity of ballaſt into the Stern, covered the Head with Pitch, and Tar, and Brimſtone, which by help of Wind and Oars, they brought nigh to the *Macedonian* Fortreſs. Then ſetting the combuſtible matter on Fire, retreated into Boats prepared for that purpoſe. The Fire immediately catched the Towers of the Fortification, and by the help of Torches, and ſuch things caſt by them in the Boats, the Work it ſelf took fire, before the *Macedonians* were aware. Thoſe who were in the Towers, threw themſelves into the Sea, after they had caſt away their Arms. But the *Tyrians* being more ambitious of ta-

king them Priſoners, than killing them, bruiſed and beat them in the Water, that they might take them into their Boats without any danger to themſelves.

Beſides, the Fire raging in the upper part of it, the VVater did no leſs miſchief; for at that time there happened a great Storm, the VVaves looſning that which cemented the Foundation, which by degrees diſſolving, was quite waſhed away by the Sea; and of all that vaſt bulk which *Alexander* at his departure left ſo forward, he ſcarce found any ſign remaining at his return.

Every one laid the fault on his Neighbour, when if all had complained of the Sea, they had better excuſed themſelves. Yet did not this ill ſucceſs diſcourage *Alexander* from a ſecond Attempt: But this he ordered, ſo that the Wind ſhould blow upon one of the ends, not in the middle; ſo that the Front did, as it were, defend the reſt from the rude blaſts of Wind. He alſo contrived it broader, that the little Towers erected in the midſt might be out of the reach of the Enemies Darts. The Foundation was, whole Trees caſt into the VVater, and upon them Stones; over theſe another row of Trees, and upon theſe Mud and Earth; upon this lay another heap of Stones, to ſtrengthen it, and cement it. Neither were the *Tyrians* idle in any reſpect, or ſlow in doing what they were able, to prevent it. Their chiefeſt Device was this, to dive under VVater until they came near the VVork, and faſtning Hooks into the VVood, they pulled it away: And having thus pull'd away the Foundation, the upper part fell

fell to the bottom. This Second Miſchance put *Alexander* in a great doubt whether he ſhould attempt any thing more againſt the place: But while he was thus perplex'd, his whole Navy arrived at *Cyprus*; and in it freſh Supplies, which *Cleander* brought out of *Greece*. The whole Fleet conſiſted of 180. Sail of Ships, which he divided into Two Squadrons, making the King of *Cyprus* and *Craterus* Admirals of one, himſelf commanding the other, being in a Galley rowed by Five Men on a ſide. The *Tyrians*, though they had many Ships, and their Enemies no experienced Seamen, durſt not run the hazard of a Sea-Fight, but placed all their Gallies of Three Oars before their VValls; Theſe *Alexander* ſet upon, and ſunk them all. The very next day he made up cloſe to the VVall, and began to batter it with his Rams, and other Warlike Engines: But as faſt as he made Breaches, they within ſtopped them up, and built another Wall within, if the firſt ſhould fail.

But the face of Affairs began to alter; for now they were ſurrounded by a Potent Navy; and the *Macedonians* had ſo ordered their Gallies, that Two being joyned together at the Head, and the Sterns ſomewhat diſtant, they laid Boards and Planks in the manner of a Bridge over, for Souldiers to ſtand upon; ſo that they ſeemed to be aſſailed both by Land and Sea at once. Thus approaching with their Four-oar'd Gallies cloſe to the Wall, they, without any danger, threw Darts at their Enemies, being ſheltred behind the Fore-Decks of their own Gallies. At mid-night *Alexander* commanded them to bring their Ships to the Walls,

Walls, and ſurround the Town. This diſmayed the beſieged; and what added to their amazement, was, that the Sky of a ſudden was overcaſt, and the Night grew much darker than it was before: Immediately followed a great Storm, the Waves began to riſe, and the Veſſels daſh one againſt another; the Ships faſtned together, looſned the Planks, and the Souldiers fell into the Water. The Souldiers diſturbed and hindred the Seamen, and the Seamen the Souldiers. The Commanders forgetting their Power, and ſuffering themſelves to be rul'd by others: But at laſt, by the help of their Oars, they got to Shoar, with the loſs of many Ships.

About this time came Thirty *Carthaginians*, rather to condole their Condition, than to help to relieve it, bringing News, that they were alſo engaged with an Enemy which had laid waſte great part of *Africa*, and were almoſt as nigh *Carthage* it ſelf, as *Alexander* was to *Tyre*. Notwithſtanding, the Inhabitants did not quite deſpair, although their greateſt hopes had failed them, but conveyed their Wives and Children thither, thinking that their ſafety from the Enemy, would leſſen their Sorrow for any ill ſucceſs that could happen.

At one of their Conſultations a Citizen declared, That in his Sleep the Image of *Apollo* appeared to him in a poſture of departing the City. This Childiſh Fiction ſtrangely affected them, becauſe they chiefly worſhipped *Apollo* and *Hercules*; and to the laſt the Protection of their City was aſcribed. Wherefore they tied, with a Golden Chain, the Statue of *Apollo* to the Altar of *Hercules*, by this means ho-

hoping to ſecure both. This Statue was brought at firſt from *Carthage*, as a thing more fit for the City they own their Deſcent from, than themſelves: for the *Carthaginians* uſually brought part of the Spoils they took from any place unto their *Metropolis*. They endeavoured to excite them to revive an old Cuſtom which the *Carthaginians* took from them, and preſerved till the ſacking of their City; a Cuſtom which none certainly can imagine to be otherwiſe than a horrid Impiety againſt any Deity, which was, to ſacrifice a Child to *Saturn*. So far was this urged, that had not the grave and ancient Men withſtood it, it had certainly been done; ſo cruelly ſuperſtitious were thoſe people.

That nothing ſharpens our Invention more than Neceſſity, this Danger did convince them; for beſides their uſual reſiſtance they invented a way to incommode their Enemies. At the end of a long Pole they nailed a Scythe, or crooked piece of Iron; and as their Foes moved their battering Rams, they cut the Ropes; and not only ſo, but with Crows, and ſuch Weapons, they damaged their Enemies Ships, and ſlew them. They heated alſo Braſs Shields red hot, and filling them with hot Sand and Lime, poured it upon the Aſſailants, which getting between the Armour and Fleſh, burnt vehemently, and cauſed them to fling off their Armour; ſo that they wounded them at their pleaſure, without receiving any hurt. They alſo toſſed many Men over board with Iron Engines, made like a Man's Hand.

Thus

Thus was the King's Patience quite wearied; and conſidering with himſelf, what time, what Opportunities he omitted of doing more famous Actions, than the taking of that Town he had ſo long beſieged; he once thought to have raiſed the Siege, and gone to *Ægypt*, that he might not be known to be almoſt as long in ſubduing one City, as he had been in conquering ſo great a part of *Aſia*. On the contrary, he thought the Report and Fame of his Actions, which had equally with his Valour, gain'd his Conqueſts, ſhould be much eclipſed, if in quitting the War, he let *Tyre* boaſt, that it alone could reſiſt him. This laſt Conſideration animated him to make one more Aſſault, and that with more Ships, and the choiceſt of his Men. At their approach to the Walls, appear'd a prodigious Whale, conſpicuous to both Armies: It ſtraight moved it ſelf to the *Macedonians* Work, ſwimming ſometimes above, ſometimes beneath the Water: It ſtirred up, and daſhed great Waves, until it came near the City, where it quite diſappeared. The ſight of it encouraged both Parties. The Aſſailants took it to be a kind of guide to their taking of the Town, and a Preſage of it. The *Tyrians* inferr'd from the ſight of it, That *Neptune* being angry at the Uſurpation of his Element, had ſent, and ſuddenly ſnatched away that Prodigy, as the Emblem of the ſudden Deſtruction of the Enemies Works and Hopes too. With this Conceit were they ſo poſſeſs'd, that all the Night they ſpent in revelling and banquetting; and growing hot headed, at break of Day made a Sally forth in their Ships, which were all crown'd

crown'd with Garlands of Flowers. So certain were they of the Victory, that they ſeemed to triumph before the Battle. It happened, that at that time *Alexander* was about making an Attempt on the contrary ſide of the Town, having left Thirty of the leaſt of his Gallies by the Shoar: The *Tyrians* ſet upon theſe, and taking Two, put the reſt into a great conſternation. At laſt, by their Outcrys, *Alexander* was alarm'd, and directing his Ships to the place whence the noiſe came, was met by a Five-Oar'd Veſſel, being one of the ſwifteſt. The *Tyrians* ſeeing this fly, made after her with Two, and running againſt the ſide with one, the *Macedonians* oppoſed it; but were attacqued on the other ſide by another: To the reſcue of their Galley, the *Macedonians* ſent one with Three Oars, which with great fury running upon that which was looſe, and came laſt upon their men, the force of it threw the Stears-man into the Sea. Immediately the reſt of the Veſſels came up, and *Alexander* himſelf appeared. The *Tyrians* therefore, with much ado, getting clear of them, made towards their Harbour with all the ſpeed imaginable. *Alexander* with as much haſte purſued them; and though the Men on the Walls hindred his entrance into the Haven, yet he took or ſunk many of their Ships.

After this he gave Two Days reſt to his Souldiers, and on a ſudden, encompaſſing the City on all ſides, gave a general Aſſault, on purpoſe to ſtrike the greater Terrour into his Enemies.

The King himſelf, on the top of a Tower, with his Javelin, kill'd many, and with his own

own hand threw them headlong into the Sea; and performed many notable Exploits worthy of himſelf, though not without great danger of his own Royal Perſon, being known by his ſhining Armour, and embroidered Cloaths; and therefore aimed at by all. This he could the better perform, becauſe the Work he ſtood on, was equal in height, and cloſe almoſt to the Wall. At length, by the continual blows of their battering Rams, there was a large breach, and many of his Souldiers got into the Haven, ſome of which mounted the Walls which the Enemy deſerted. This ſucceſs ſtruck the *Tyrians* with great amazement, and all began to provide for their ſafety; ſome took Sanctuary in their Temples, others barricadoed their Doors againſt them, and many ſet upon their Enemies, being in great deſpair, and reſolved to ſell their Lives as dear as they could: Some got upon the tops of Houſes, and from thence threw Stones and Rubbiſh on their Enemies.

*Alexander* cauſed Proclamation to be made at his entrance, That he would put all to the Sword who were not found in their Temples, and ſet Fire to the Houſes. Thus many periſhed; for the Temples were fill'd with Women and Children, and every Man ſtood in his own defence at his own Door. Yet in this Univerſal Slaughter were 15000. ſaved by means of the *Sydonians*, who entred the Town with the *Macedonians*; and remembring that *Tyre* was built by *Agenor*, who alſo built *Sydon*, they ſhipped many away privately, who eſcaped thither.

How

How much Blood was ſpilt, a gueſs may be made by the number of the Armed Men that were ſlain within the City, which were 6000.

But to this Slaughter a more diſmal Cruelty was added by the enraged King; a Cruelty, the ſight of which moved the pity of the Conquerours themſelves; for 2000. who had eſcaped their Death in the City, were nailed to Gibbets in Rows on the Shoar. He preſerved the Law of Nations, in ſparing the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors; but aſſured them he would try his Fortune againſt them, were he not already engaged.

Thus after a Siege of Seven Months was *Tyre* taken by Storm; a City no leſs memorable for its Antiquity, than the Viciſſitudes of Fortune it had ſeen. It was built by *Agenor*, and formerly held in ſubjection, not the Neighbouring Sea only, but as far as its Fleet went; ſo far it extended its Dominion. Here, if any Credit may be given to the Report, the uſe of Letters was firſt taught, if not invented. It had Colonies in almoſt all parts of the Univerſe; as *Carthage* in *Africa*, *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, and *Gades* in *Spain*. The Cauſes of their many Plantations of Colonies, are reckon'd to be, partly their often going to Sea, and chooſing Habitations for themſelves, when their City was too populous; partly the many Earthquakes which happened there, and forced many to ſeek for new places to inhabit. At this day, after many changes, and one total deſtruction, it is re-built, and flouriſheth now by the Peace it hath long enjoyed under the *Roman* Clemency.

Some

Some time after the ſacking of this City, he received Letters from *Darius*, written in a more obliging manner, ſtiling him King; and wherein he who had almoſt commanded in his former ones, now made this Requeſt:

That *Alexander* would accept of his Daughter *Statyra* for his Wife, and all the Country between the Rivers *Helleſpont* and *Halys*, for her Portion; declaring himſelf contented with that part of his Empire which lay *Eaſtward*. "I hope, ſaid he, "the Mutability of Fortune, which you "cannot be ignorant of, though you have not "as yet experienced it, will prevail with you to "accept of it, ſince the moſt Envy always at- "tends the greateſt Proſperity. I am afraid "your tender Age hath ſcarce furniſhed you "with Experience enough to uſe your good For- "tune, but you vainly aim at things beyond "your reach, as Birds juſt fledg'd direct their "flight naturally toward the Stars. I can aſ- "ſure you, I have many Armies yet to conquer, "which you cannot always ſurpriſe at an advan- "tage in Streights: Many Rivers to paſs over, "as *Euphrates*, *Tygris*, *Araxis*, and *Hydaſpis*; all "theſe great Defences of my Empire. Alas! "when will you be able to come to *Media* and "*Hyrcania*, *Bactra* and *India*, to the *Sogdians* and "*Arracoſians*, and many places whoſe very "Names are ſcarce known to you? Much leſs "be able to conquer them. You will grow old "in the Journey to the Nations bordering on "Mount *Caucaſus*, and the River *Tanais*, ſhould "you meet with no Oppoſition, though you now "flouriſh in your Youth. Laſtly, you ſhall not "need to ſend for me, ſince, how long ſoever "my coming be deferr'd, it will, to your ſorrow, "prove too ſudden.

To

To this, *Alexander* returned this Answer:

"Your Master, said he, very liberally dispo-
"seth of what is not in his own power, and
"frankly offereth to give that which he hath
"already lost. *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Æolis*, and the
"Coast of *Hellespont*, the Rewards of my Labour,
"he offers for his Daughter's Dowry; as if the
"Conditions of concluding a Peace were to be
"given by, not imposed upon the Conquered:
"If he knoweth not himself to be so, let him
"once more try his Fortune, and receive a far-
"ther Evidence of it. Tell him also, That
"when I crossed the Sea, to invade his King-
"dom, I thought *Lydia* and *Cilicia* a small in-
"ducement to my Journey; that I proposed to
"my self nothing less than *Persepolis*, his Capital
"City, and the utmost bounds of the *East* for
"my Conquests; That he can fly no whither,
"but I am able to pursue him; That Rivers cannot
"retard my Journey, who have so lately triumph-
"ed over the Sea it self.

While these Answers passed between the Two Princes, the Citizens of *Rhodes* surrendred their City and Haven to *Alexander*, He appointed *Socrates* Governour of *Cilicia*, and *Philotas* of *Tyre*, and the adjacent Country. *Parmenio*, whom *Alexander* had constituted Governour of *Syria*, call'd by that people *Cœle*, deputed *Andromachus* in his room, intending for the future to be in the War. *Alexander* commanded *Hæphestion* to coast along near the Shoar, into *Phœnicia*, and himself, with his whole Army, sate down before the City *Gaza*. He came thither about that time that the *Isthmian Games* are celebrated by all the Youth of *Greece*.

Upon his approach they conſulted how to complement him, though (as the Nature of thoſe People is) they deſigned to hold with the uppermoſt: They preſented him with a Crown of Gold, as a grateful acknowledgment of the famous Victories he had obtain'd againſt the General Enemy, and the publick good he had done them all. But in all theſe famous Conqueſts it is not to be expected that *Alexander* was preſent himſelf; for he had many skillful and valiant Commanders under him, that ſubdued many places for him. *Calas* reduced all *Paphlagonia*, *Antigonus Lycaonia*, *Balacrus* overthrew *Idarne*, *Darius* his Lieutenant, and took *Miletum*. *Amphoterus* and *Hegilochus*, Admirals of 160. Sail of Ships, conquered all the Iſlands between *Aſia* and *Achaia*, and beſides theſe, the Iſle *Tenedos*, being invited by its Inhabitants. They attempted alſo to ſeize on *Chios*, having many in the Town of their ſide; but *Pharnabazus*, Admiral for *Darius*, put a Garriſon into it, under the Command of *Apollonides* and *Athenagoras*, two Loyal Men; ſo that the *Macedonians* were forced to carry on a formal Siege, relying more upon their willingneſs to yield it up, than their own ability to compel them: Neither were they at all deceived; for there happened a Quarrel between *Apollonides*, and ſome inferiour Officers; ſo that by their negligence the *Macedonians* entred the Town, and the Inhabitants ſtraight joyning with them, put all the Garriſon to the Sword, and took *Pharnabazus*, *Apollonides*, and *Athenagoras*, Priſoners, and Twelve Three-Oar'd Veſſels well mann'd, Thirty Ships and Pinnaces, on board of which were 3000. *Græcian* Mercenary Souldiers: Theſe they

they added to their own Troops, and placed the Seamen in their own Ships, but put the Pyrates (from whom ſeveral of the Ships were taken) to Death.

The Night after the place was taken, about the Firſt Watch [with us 11. of the Clock], came *Ariſtonicus*, who tyrannically uſurped the Government of the City *Methymna*, in *Lesbos*, with ſome Pyrate Ships, being ignorant of what had happened, he made towards the Haven, and was asked by the Watchmen, who he was; He anſwered them, That *Ariſtonicus* was come to pay a Viſit to *Pharnabazus*. They told him, *Pharnabazus* was in Bed, and that being an Ally, the Harbour was at his ſervice till the Morning, and then he ſhould ſee *Pharnabazus*. He boldly entred without the leaſt ſuſpicion, and was followed by his whole Fleet. The Watch preſently alarm'd their Neighbours, and faſtning the Chain of the Haven, they took them all Priſoners without any reſiſtance, and delivered them in Fetters to *Amphoterus* and *Hegilochus*: From hence they ſailed to *Mitylene*, which was defended for *Darius*, by a Garriſon of 2000. Men, under one *Chares*, an *Athenian*: But the place was not able to withſtand a Siege; wherefore, upon condition, that they ſhould have leave to go out, they ſurrendred: So did *Imbrus*, another City, and the Inhabitants were ſaved.

Whilſt theſe things were thus carried on; *Darius*, being deſtitute of all hopes of Peace, which by Letters and Embaſſadors he doubted not to have obtained, reſolved to levy another Army, and vigorouſly carry on the War. In Order to which he appointed all his Commanders to

meet at *Babylon*, and that *Beſſus*, the Governour of *Bactria*, ſhould alſo repair thither with all the Men he could get together. The *Bactrians* are a People whoſe Country bordereth on *Scythia*, a very warlike Nation. They live generally on prey, and are continually engaged in Wars, in which they are bred, and take more delight than the Effeminate *Perſians*. But *Beſſus*, whom *Darius* knew to be ſo ambitious, that to be the Second in the Empire ſeem'd too little to him, was ſuſpected by him; and 'twas fear'd he affected the Imperial Diadem, which by no means he could poſſibly attain to, unleſs by Treaſon, and cutting off his Head that wore it.

*Alexander* at this time was at a great diſtance from him, and could by no means, by no Enquiry, find out which way he took his Journey. For the *Perſians* religiouſly keep the Secrets of their Kings, nor can either fear or hope extort a Confeſſion from them. This uſeful Diſcipline was by degrees eſtabliſhed, by puniſhing with Death any Fault committed by the tongue, as Capital, which they thought the more juſt, becauſe they never could expect that man ſhould be fit for any Imployment, who could not bridle his Tongue, than which nothing ſeems naturally more eaſie. For this Reaſon he was altogether ignorant of his Enemies Proceedings; and not knowing how to get Intelligence, laid ſiege to the City *Gaza*. The City was of a large Compaſs; and though there was in it but a ſmall Garriſon, yet was the Governour a man of approved Loyalty to his Prince, his Name was *Bætis*.

*Alexander* taking notice of the advantageous place the City was ſeated in, ordered Mines to be ſprung, and to be covered over with Turfs and Duſt. This he knew was eaſie to be effected, becauſe the Sand which the Sea rowl'd up, was eaſie to dig, there being no Stones to hinder them. The Mines he contriv'd in ſuch a place, that the beſieged could not ſee any one at work, or ſuſpect any ſuch Deſign: And the more to amuſe them, he cauſed ſeveral Batteries, which he had built, to be moved cloſe to the Walls; but the ſoftneſs of the ground, which in one thing was advantageous, in another proved the contrary: For the Wheels upon which this Work moved, ſinking into it, the Towers brake, and wounded many of his own Men, who were as much troubled to get it back as they had been to move it forward. The Sign therefore of Retreat was given, and the next Morning, put his Men in their poſture, he meant to aſſail the place on all ſides: But before he gave the On-ſet, he ſacrificed to the Gods after his own Country Faſhion, imploring their aſſiſtance to the performance of his Undertaking. It happened as he was doing Sacrifice, that a Raven flew over his head, and upon it let fall a Clod ſhe had in her Claws, which brake, and the Bird it ſelf alighted on the next Tower, where her Wings were ſo daubed with Pitch, that ſhe could not eſcape thoſe who endeavoured to take her. The Accident ſeemed of ſuch Conſequence, that the *Soothſayers* were conſulted about it; So ſuperſtitious was even *Alexander*. The moſt skilful, and who was moſt credited of them, was *Ariſtander*: His Judgment was, That it portended the Deſtruction of the City, but

not without ſome danger of the King's Perſon; and therefore he adviſed him to attempt nothing that day; which Advice he took, though with ſome regret, that one City ſhould hinder his Journey into *Ægypt*, and kept his Men back. The Inhabitants obſerving their motion, took Courage, and looking on their Retreat as a kind of a Flight, ſallied upon their Rear, and gave a very fierce On-ſet, which did not continue long; for ſeeing their Enemies face about, they were at a ſtand. The King was in the Front, and hearing the noiſe, came up in Perſon to the face of the Enemies, having already forgot the *Soothſayers* Advice, though by ſome intreaty he took that of his Attendants, to put on his Breaſt-plate, which he very ſeldom wore. There was an *Arabian* Souldier in the other Party, who had a mind to attempt a glorious Miſchief, above himſelf and his Fortune: To this intent, hiding his Weapon under his own Shield, he fell at *Alexander*'s Feet. The King raiſed him up, and ordered that he ſhould have good Entertainment: But the Villain ariſing, boldly ſtruck at the Throat of *Alexander*, who avoiding the danger, by declining of his Body a little, cut off the Traitor's Hand.

The King concluded then he had eſcaped the danger that was foretold; but afterwards as he was fighting reſolutely among the foremoſt, he receiv'd a Wound in his Shoulder, by an Arrow, to evince him how inevitable Man's Deſtiny is. The Arrow pierced his Armour, and ſtuck in his Shoulder. *Philip*, the Phyſician, pulled it out, and a great quantity of Blood followed, which affrighted all that ſaw it, becauſe they had never ſeen an Arrow make ſo deep a Wound

Wound through Armour. *Alexander*, without the leaſt change of countenance, ordered his Phyſicians to ſtench the Blood, and bind up the Wound: Nor would he quit his ground yet, but ſtood in the foremoſt Rank, either ſenſible of no pain, or at leaſt diſſembling it. But in a litttle while the courſe of the Blood being ſtopped, it brake out again more violently; and though the Wound pain'd him but little while 'twas green, yet as the Blood cool'd, the place ſeemed to feſter; at laſt he grew faint with the loſs of Blood, and ſank down into the Arms of his Attendants, and was carried into his Tent. *Bætis* re-entred the City with great Triumph, ſuppoſing him ſlain out-right. But *Alexander*, before his recovery, not only cauſed a Tower to be erected, as high as the Walls, but threw down great pieces of them by his Mines. The beſieged raiſed a ſecond Wall, equal in height to the former, but not high enough to hinder *Alexander*'s Men from throwing Darts into the City, which much annoy'd the Inhabitants: But their laſt Diſaſter was a great Breach in their Wall, made by a Mine, through which the Enemy entred the place, *Alexander* being at the Head of them, and preſſing forward too raſhly, his Leg was hurt by a Stone: Yet he leaned on his Spear, and notwithſtanding that, and his former Wound, which was not yet perfectly cured, he fought among the foremoſt, being enraged, that in taking that City he had receiv'd Two Wounds. *Bætis* fought couragiouſly in the Breach, even when he was deſerted by his own Souldiers, having his Armour ſtain'd with his own, as well as his Enémies Blood. At laſt he was encompaſſed, and

*Alexander*, though naturally an Admirer and Encourager of ſuch generous Reſolutions, yet told him, That he ſhould not have the Honour to die there, but by the moſt exquiſite Torment that could be invented. The valiant Governour ſhowed not the leaſt ſign of fear, but rather Indignation and Contempt, not vouchſafing him an Anſwer to his proud Reſolution. The King added, That though he would neither beg his Life, nor ſo much as kneel to him, yet the Rack ſhould fetch Groans, if not Speech, from him. Thus was even Nature altered in him, and his Anger now turned into blind and raſh Madneſs; ſo that putting a Rope through the ſmall of his Leg, while he was alive they dragged him about the City at a Horſe's Tail, whilſt he boaſted, That he conquered and puniſhed, as his great Anceſtor, *Achilles*, had done. Of the *Perſians* and *Arabians* near 10000 were kill'd: Nor was the loſs of the *Macedonians* inconſiderable.

This Siege was not ſo memorable for the ſtrength of the City, but for the Two Wounds *Alexander* had given him, who intending to go into *Ægypt*, ſent *Amyntas* with Ten Gallies, of Three Oars a piece, to bring freſh Supplies from *Macedon*: for even his Conqueſts, by degrees, waſted his Army; and he durſt not leave the places he ſubdued wholly in their Command who loſt them.

The *Ægyptians* were a People that the *Perſians* tyrannized over very much, and who upon that account look'd upon the Riches which they ſqueez'd out of them with an envious Eye, and having great expectation of *Alexander*'s coming, as may

may eaſily be conjectured by the good reception *Amyntas*, the Traitor, found there, though he came to intreat rather then force it. Wherefore they flocked to *Peluſium* in great multitudes, that being the place *Alexander* was to enter into. In Seven Days after the taking of *Gaza*, he came to the place call'd now *Alexander*'s *Camp*. From thence he ſent his Foot by Land to *Peluſium*, and with a light Band he himſelf went thither by the River *Nile*; but the *Perſians* durſt not ſtand againſt him, for fear the *Ægyptians* ſhould turn on his ſide.

When he came nigh *Memphis*, *Aſtaces*, who held the place for *Darius*, as ſoon as *Alexander* had come on that ſide the River *Oxius*, ſent him Fourſcore Talents, and all the Royal Furniture of his Maſter. From *Memphis* he paſſed down the ſame River, into the heart of the Country, and ſettled his Affairs to his own and their content, by changing none of their Cuſtoms. Here he had an earneſt deſire to ſee the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*. The Inhabitants, who were well skilled in the way, laid before him many Difficulties: They told him, the Journey could not be undertaken by any conſiderable Number of Men, becauſe of the ſcarcity of both VVater and Proviſion: That there were vaſt Tracts of barren Sands, which being heated by the continual Rays of the Sun, would burn his Feet; and not ſo only, but being deep and ſoft, would tire thoſe that travel over it, extreamly.

Theſe they repreſented greater than they were indeed; but no Difficulties that they could alledg, were able to ſatisfie the deſire he had of going to *Jupiter*'s Temple, from whom

whom he believed his Anceſtors were deſcended, not being content with the higheſt of Earthly Progenies, or at leaſt, would have others believe ſo. Wherefore chooſing his Companions, he paſſed farther down the *Nile*, into the Pool of *Mæotis*.

Hither the *Cyrenians* ſent Embaſſadors to him, deſiring Peace, and preſenting him with ſome Rarities, invited him to their Cities: But he receiving them kindly, and making peace, went forward in his Journey. The firſt and ſecond day the way ſeemed not ſo very unpleaſant; for though the ground he paſſed over was very unfruitful, yet no vaſt and ſandy Deſerts as yet appeared. But at laſt he came into the large Plains, all covered with deep Sand, in which, as if they had been in the midſt of a vaſt Sea, they could not diſcover the leaſt ſign of a Tree, or any ground that had been, or could be tilled. His Water alſo, which he brought upon Camels, began to grow ſhort: All appeared ſcorched by the heat of the Sun, when on a ſudden, (whether by Chance, or the Bounty of the Gods, is uncertain) the Sky was over-caſt; which, although no Rain fell preſently, yet cool'd and refreſhed them very much, who were almoſt faint with Extremity of Heat. At laſt there fell a great ſhower; ſo that every one catched what he could in Veſſels; and ſome who were not able to hold any, lying on their backs, receiv'd the falling drops into their Mouths. Four Days were ſpent in this Deſart, at the end of which they came nigh the Oracle, and were met by a flight of Crows, which turning, flew ſometimes before the firſt Rank, ſometimes lighting on the ground, ſeemed to guide them

the

the right way, until they arrived at the place consecrated to *Jupiter*.

It is almost incredible, that in the midst of such sterile Desarts, a place could be so pleasant; There are abundance of Trees, and their Boughs so thick, that the Sun's Rays scarce can penetrate them; and for the nourishment of these, there are many little Rivulets, whose Water is very pleasant to the taste. The Air also is exceeding healthful, and all the seasons of the year not unlike the delightful Spring. It is bordered on the *East* by the *Æthiopians*, on the *South* by that part of *Arabia* which is called *Troglodytis*, which stretcheth out it self as far as the *Red Sea*; on the *East* lieth that part of *Æthiopia* whose Inhabitants are call'd *Scenitæ*; on the *North* side are the *Nasamones*, which live by Pyracy; for they set upon all the Ships that are driven on their Coasts by bad weather. They who reside about this place are call'd *Hammonians*, and live in Cottages scatter'd abroad; A Grove in the midst being wall'd about with a Triple Wall, serveth instead of a Castle: Within the outmost Wall was the ancient Palace of their Kings; within the second the Apartments of their Wives and Concubines, together with the Oracle: within the third were the Lodgings of the Garrison. There is besides this another Grove sacred to *Jupiter*, and in it a wonderful Fountain, which in the Morning is a little warm, in the heat of the day very cold, towards Sun-setting it groweth warm, and at midnight is very hot, which heat, as the Morning comes on, decreaseth, and by break of day it is but luke-warm. The Image which they worship for *Jupiter* is not made in that shape they usually did make them

them in: The lower parts, from the Navel, are like those of a Ram; but adorned with many Jewels. When any Question is propounded, the Priests carry the Effigies in Golden *Brigantine*, on the sides of which did hang many Dishes of Silver. This was followed by a solemn Procession of Matrons and young Virgins, singing an unintelligible Song, after the manner of their Country; by which they hoped to engage *Jupiter* to give a true Answer.

At *Alexander*'s coming into the place, the Eldest Priest met him, and in the Name of the Deity, call'd him Son, which he affirmed he did by its Inspiration. Which being unexpected, put all thoughts of Mortality out of his Mind; and he answered, That he accepted of, and owned the glorious Title. He demanded, if his Father had destin'd him to be Emperour of the whole World: To which the Priest, intending to flatter him, told him, That All the World should acknowledg him their Emperour. The next question he desired to be answered, was, Whether all his Father's Murtherers had suffer'd condign Punishment? The Priest replyed, That his Father was above all possibility of traiterous Designs; but *Philip*, his reputed Father's Murtherers were all executed: to which this assurance was annexed, That until his reception in his place among the Gods, he should be invincible.

When he was thus satisfied in all his Doubts, he permitted all his Attendants to put their Questions, and offered great Gifts to the Deity and the Priests. They all unanimously put this only Question, if they ought to look upon their King as a God? It was answered, That *Jupiter* could not be bet-

better pleaſed than by giving Divine Worſhip to his victorious Off-ſpring.

To any conſidering perſon the Vanity of theſe Anſwers might eaſily have appeared; but that Fortune makes the ambitious man more deſirous of Glory than fit, or able to attain it. *Alexander* not only bore with the flattery of being called the Son of *Jupiter*, but commanded all to ſtile him ſo. And whilſt greedily he ſtrove to encreaſe his Fame, he taints it with this affected Title: For though the Government of *Macedon* is Monarchical, yet the Subjects had ſeemingly more freedom than in ſuch Kingdoms is uſual; ſo that they deteſted the Pride of *Alexander*, in uſurping that unbecoming Title. But of their Reſentments in its proper place; return we to the Relation from which we have made a little Digreſſion.

*Alexander* at his return from the Oracle to the Pool of *Mæotis*, near to which is the Iſland *Pharos*, he admired the pleaſantneſs of the place, and reſolved to build a City in it; but upon ſecond thoughts, he found it not large enough to hold a City anſwerable to the greatneſs of the Builder: Wherefore marking the Circumference, which was to be Fourſcore Furlongs, he laid the Foundation of that City, which from him is call'd *Alexandria*; and having left Overſeers of the work, went himſelf to *Memphis*. He had a great, and though unreaſonable, yet a commendable deſire of ſeeing all the Inland Towns of *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia*. He was alſo curious, and had not the VVar, of which the worſt was yet to come, taken away all opportunity of loſing time, he had gone to ſee the Antiquity of the Famous Palaces of *Memnon* and *Tythonus*. He made Two Governours

nours of *Ægypt*, *Æschylus* a *Rhodian*, and *Peucestes* a *Macedonian*: He set *Polymenes* to defend the Coast of the River *Nile*, giving to the first 4000. Men, to the latter Thirty Ships. To *Apollonius* he committed that part of *Africa* which joyneth to *Ægypt*, and made *Cleomenes* Collector of his Revenues in both places. To people his new City, he caused great numbers of Inhabitants of others to resort thither.

'Tis a Custom of the *Macedonians*, at the building a City, to strew the new Walls with sodden Barley, which when *Alexander* performed, certain Birds came and devoured it, which all but the Priests look't upon as a bad *Omen*, who inferred from thence, that the City should be a great place for Entertainment of Strangers, and abound with all sorts of Provision.

After this *Alexander* sail'd down the River *Nile*, and *Hector*, Son of *Parmenio*, a fine young Gentleman, and well beloved of the King, intending to follow him, stepped into a Vessel which was over-burthened with Men, and sank, and left them all to swim for their Lives. *Hector* strugled a long time; and though his Cloaths being soak't, hindered his swimming very much, yet got to shoar almost breathless; but having none to assist him at the return of his Spirits, he died, very much lamented by the King, and was interr'd with great Solemnity. To add to his sorrow, he received the News of the cruel Death of *Andromachus*, his Lieutenant of *Syria*, who was burnt alive by the *Samaritæ*. He made all the haste he could to revenge the Death of his Subject, and upon the first demand had all the Actors and Contrivers delivered up to him, whom he severely punished, and made *Memnon* his Deputy

puty in his room. He also yielded up the Tyrants, *Aristonicus*, and *Chrysolaus*, into the hands of those they had exercised their Tyranny over, who put an end to many exquisite Torments, which they had put them to, with their Deaths. Afterwards he gave Audience to Three several Embassies, one from the *Athenians*, who desired, that all their Country-men might be set at liberty after they had expressed their Joy for his good Successes; another from the *Rhodians*; a Third from the *Chians*, who both complained of the Garrisons. He granted all their Requests. Moreover, he sent the *Mitylenians* all their Hostages, for that they contributed to the Charge of the War very liberally, and had given evident Proofs of their Loyalty. He added also a large Tract of Land to their Dominions. He expressed his gratitude to the King of the Isle of *Cyprus*, for the Ships wherewith they aided him in the Siege of *Tyre*. He sent *Amphoterus* a Commission to drive the *Persians* out of *Creet*, and scour all the Islands of the Pyrates, who very much infested them at that time, and had the better opportunity while he and *Darius* were engaged against one another.

Thus he setled his Affairs, and consecrated a Golden Goblet, and Thirty Cups, for the use of the Temple of *Hercules* in *Tyre*. And now was his whole Resolution against *Darius*; wherefore he ordered his Men to march towards *Euphrates*.

But *Darius* having heard that his Enemy had passed out of *Ægypt* into *Africa*, he thought of quitting the Plains of *Mesopotamia*, and retreating into the remote parts of his Empire, thinking his Presence would animate those his Subjects more

more than the Authority of his Deputies could do, to his defence.

But when he receiv'd certain intelligence of *Alexander*'s Reſolution to follow him whitherſoever he went, and conſidered what a valiant Enemy he had to deal withal, he intended to draw all his Forces from the fartheſt Countries, to a Rendezvouz at *Babylon*. Thither repaired the *Bactrians*, *Scythians*, and *Indians*, to the Forces of the nearer Nations: ſo that he had an Army more numerous than was defeated in *Cilicia*; but the greater part quite naked for want of Armour. This was got with all Expedition, both offenſive and defenſive; Both Horſe and Men had Steel Armour, and thoſe who had Darts only before, now had Shields and Swords added. To encreaſe his Cavalry, he ordered the Foot to manage, and back ſeveral Horſes; and the more to terrifie the Enemy, prepared Two Hundred Chariots with Steel Spikes; on the fore-part ſtuck out a great Number of Spikes headed with Iron; on each ſide were Three great Swords, and in the Spokes of the Wheels, Darts of Iron. Theſe were held in great eſteem in theſe Nations, and thought terrible to the Enemy. In the circumference alſo of the Wheels, were Swords, to cut off whatever ſhould hinder their courſe.

This was the State of his Army, which moving from *Babylon*, filled all that ſpace between the famous River *Tygris*, on the Right Hand, and *Euphrates* on the Left, called *Meſopotamia*, from this its ſituation.

As ſoon as he had paſſed over *Tygris*, he had notice that the Enemy was not very far diſtant: whereupon he ſent firſt *Satropaces*, who commanded the Horſe, with 1000. choſen Men, and after

ter him *Mazæus* with six times as many, to hinder the Enemies coming over *Euphrates*, commanding him to lay waste that part of the Country through which it was most probable *Alexander* would pass, because himself was supplyed by Water and Land with Provision, of which *Alexander* had no more but what he won from him.

Now was he come to the Fatal place, a little Village called *Arbella*, famous for nothing but his Defeat; where he left that part of his Baggage which most hindred his march, and having made a Bridg over the River *Lycus*, he passed over in five days, as he had done at *Euphrates*, and encamped at another Town call'd *Bumado*, about Eighty Furlongs from the River. This was a very convenient place for his Army, being an open Champaign Countrey, affording a large prospect; and without Stumps or Bushes to hinder the Horses Feet, and where any Hills appeared he caused them to be made level.

When *Alexander*'s Scouts brought him word, as near as they could guess, the number of his Forces, he could scarce believe that after the slaughter of above 100000. Men he should be able to bring into the Field a far more numerous Army than he had before. Nevertheless as he was a Man whom no danger, but least of all the number of an Enemy could dismay or cast down, he marched towards him, and in Eleven days came to *Euphrates*, over which he made a Bridge, his Horse passing over first, then his Foot, without being encountred by *Mazæus*, who was posted there to hinder his Passage. Here he permitted his Men to rest, and gave them all the Encouragement

he could, resolving to pursue the Enemy with all speed, for fear they should retreat farther into the Country, and he be forced to pass through solitary and wasted Fields, where no Forrage was to be got.

On the Fourth day he came to *Tygris*, leaving *Arbella* on one side: All the Fields on the other side of the River were on Fire, as if an Enemy had passed through, from whence arose so great a Smoak that he suspected an Ambuscade; but as soon as he was satisfied of the contrary, he commanded a Party of Horse to try the depth of the Water; at the very first step they found it as high as the Horses Belly, and soon after, deeper. Nor is it to be wondred at, since that River is accounted the swiftest of all the East, and from the great force of its Stream, is called by them *Tygris*, which in their Language signifieth an Arrow. In his passage over he ordered his Horse to go on each side the Foot; and they found no difficulty, until they came to the midst of the Current; here although he in Person went before the Foot, and gave them directions while he could be heard, and afterwards by Signs, yet they could scarce stand against the Stream, and upon such smooth Stones as lay in the bottom; and the greater burthen a Man carryed, (for all carryed their Armour upon their Heads) the less able was he to stem the Current, so that many were carryed down together with their Burthens. Upon this there happened a scuffling in the Water for such Baggage as swam down, every one desirous of more than his own, though with the danger of his own Life. *Alexander*, to put an end to this, commanded them to se-

cure

cure their Armour, promising to make good all the other Losses which they should sustain; but between the Noise of the Water and that of their Quarrel, and the fear of the loss of both Goods and Life, neither good Counsel nor Commands could be heard. Notwithstanding they all passed the Chanel, nor was there a Man missing, only some few had lost their Booty.

Now might all the Army have been cut off, had the Enemy but dared to oppose them. But the good Fortune which attended the King in all Enterprizes diverted their thoughts from it. That Fortune which favoured his passage over the River *Granicus*, though opposed by his Enemies: That Fortune, by which he Conquered so vast an Army in the Streights of *Cilicia*, still protected him; though his own Courage arising from the confidence of that Success, was no small instrument in the performing of many dangerous Attempts; for he believed it impossible to fall short of what ever he intended.

Had *Mazæus* set upon his Men when they were out of order and in confusion after their coming over, he had certainly defeated them, but after he had given them time to Arm themselves, he appeared with a 1000. Horse. These the King thought not worth his observance, therefore he sent *Ariston*, a Commander of the *Paeons*, against him: In this Skirmish the *Macedonians* behaved themselves with great Bravery, especially the Captain, who with his own Hand ran his Spear into *Satropaces* the Enemies Commanders Throat, and pressing upon him into the midst of his Enemies, cut off his Head, which with all Humility he laid down at the Feet of his Royal Master.

*Alexander* tarryed here two days, and intending to march on the Third, in the firſt Watch there happened a ſtrange Eclipſe of the Moon; at firſt it was darkened, and on a ſudden the Face of that great Luminary appeared all Bloody; this the Superſtitious *Macedonians* diverſly interpreted, and complained of the Ambition of their King. "We are led, ſaid they, "to the utmoſt Bounds of the Univerſe, where "Rivers deny our Paſſage, and the Moon her "uſual Light; What, have we paſſed through vaſt, "ſolitary, and unfruitful Countries? For the ſa"tisfaction of the Ambition of one Man ſo ma"ny loſe their Lives; for a Man too who ſcorned "to acknowledg his Father, though a Prince, de"ſiring to be thought no leſs than a God!

Theſe Murmurings had almoſt broke out into open Sedition; but that to prevent it he called a Council of all the chief Officers, and propounded the interpretation of the Wonder to the *Ægyptian* Aſtronomers, who were reputed the moſt Skilful in that Science. They underſtood the juſt Revolution of times, in which the Ætherial Orbs perfect their Courſes, and that an Eclipſe of the Moon is naturally cauſed, either by the interpoſition of the Earth between it and the Sun, or by its approach to it; but they conſidering how hard it would be to beat this into the Heads of the vulgar, poſſeſſed them with a belief that that Conſtellation which appeared to be the Sun in *Greece* was the Moon in *Perſia*, and by many Examples of *Darius*'s Predeceſſors that had ill ſucceſs upon the Eclipſe of the Moon, perſwaded them that it was fatal to all the Emperours of the Eaſt. How great a ſway Superſtition hath

hath over the minds of the Multitude, may from hence be gathered, who are cruel, unſettled in their Reſolutions, becauſe unable to judge of any thing, more ready to Execute the Commands of an Enthuſiaſtick Prieſt, than thoſe of their Prince.

This Fiction of the *Ægyptians* was divulged through the Army, and ſtrangely confirmed the Minds of the moſt wavering; which opportunity *Alexander* reſolved not to neglect, but cauſed them to march at the beginning of the ſecond Watch; on the left hand ran the River *Tygris*, on the right were the *Gordyæan* Mountains. The Scouts who were ſent out returned about break of day, and brought news of *Darius*'s approach: Upon this *Alexander* placed his Men in good order, and commanded them to march in it; but his Scouts ſeeing thoſe of the *Perſians* being almoſt 1000, as they are wont to invent falſe Intelligence when they can give no true, returned to tell *Alexander* that they were a great Army; he ſent another Party who put them to flight, and ſlew a great many; after them he ſent another Detachment to quench the Houſes and Corn, which as they fled they put Fire to; by doing ſo he preſerved a great quantity of Proviſion, and encouraged his Soldiers to purſue the Enemy, leſt all the Corn and Fruits that the Country afforded ſhould be deſtroyed; and *Mazeus*, who at firſt burnt whole Villages at his pleaſure, now fled and left great Booties to the purſuers.

By this time was *Darius* not above 150. Furlongs of; wherefore *Alexander* diſtributed to every Man his Allowance for four days, and ſtay-

ed in the ſame place ſo long; during which time Letters of the Enemy were intercepted to the *Greek* Soldiers, perſwading them either to aſſaſſinate or deſert their King, and adding the Promiſes of great Rewards. *Alexander* was in a great doubt whether he ſhould have them read to his Council or not; on one hand he was ſatisfied of the Loyalty of his *Greek* Soldiers, on the other hand *Parmenio* adviſed him not to let the report of ſo great Rewards be ſpread about, ſince Covetouſneſs was enough to incite Men to the greateſt Villany, and that his Life was in the power of every ſingle Perſon. He took *Parmenio*'s Counſel and began his march; but no ſooner had he ſet forward, but an Eunuch, an Attendant of *Darius* his Wife, came and told him that his Lady was ſwooned away, which illneſs was occaſioned by the tediouſneſs of her continual Travel, and the diſquiet of her Mind: Before he well heard this, came a ſecond and brought the news of her death. This afflicted *Alexander* no leſs than that of his own Mothers could have done, for he was ſeen to ſigh and ſhed many Tears; and with the ſhow of a ſorrow, which *Darius* himſelf might have appeared in, he came into the Room where the Corps lay, and her Mother ſate by lamenting. The Proſpect he found here doubled his Grief, for ſeeing *Darius* his Mother on the Ground embracing her two Grand-daughters, who were a comfort to, and comforted by her, he reflected on her paſt Sorrows with great grief for them, and her preſent ones. There ſtood by the young Son, whoſe Loſs being greateſt, his Condition was the moſt deplorable, becauſe he himſelf was not ſenſible

of

of it. Whoever had seen *Alexander*, would have thought him fitter to have receiv'd than given Comfort; which he refused, and Sustenance too, and assisted himself at the Funeral, which was performed with all Solemnity, after the manner of their Country. Which Action rendred him worthy of the same Usage, but not of the same Misfortune. He had not seen her since she was taken but once, and then did behold her Beauty as chastly and honourably, as if she had been his own Mother, not his Enemies Wife.

Just after one *Tyriotes*, an Eunuch of hers, in the confusion, made his escape, through that part of the Camp which was fartheſt from the Enemy and leaſt guarded; and coming to *Darius* his Tent, was conducted to him, where his many Sighs and torn Garments shewed his Story to be mournful. As soon as *Darius* saw him he was much concerned, and the more because he could not guess at his Story. "Thy Face, "said he, presageth some great and sad Acci- "dent, but how dismal soever it seem to be, "speak boldly: my Ears are accustomed to such "News, for I have learnt by long experience "to bear it, and the miserable Knowledg of "the world that can happen is oftentimes a com- "fort to the wretched. Is it not the Contempt "and Derision of my poor Children, (for I "fear to mention, and yet suspect it) which to "them is beyond the most Barbarous Cruelty. *Tyriotes* answered, "Your fears are causeless on "that account, your Mother and Daughters "had no more respect here than there they en- "joy, but your Wife just before her depar- ture——— At this word a general cry was

heard in the Camp; and *Darius* impatient to hear the Truth, concluded ſhe was murthered, becauſe ſhe would not conſent to his Luſt, cry'd out, as if Madneſs had ſeized him, "Wherein "have I offended thee thou mercileſs Conque-"rour? Whom of thy Kindred have I been the "Murtherer of, that thou thus revengeſt his "Death on me? Heaven knows that without "any provocation thou haſt ſet upon me, or "were there all the Juſtice imaginable on thy "ſide, doſt thou exerciſe thy Cruelty upon Wo-"men? *Tyriotes* in the mean time proteſted that no ill uſage had been offered her, that *Alexander* himſelf was as much concerned, and bore it as impatiently as he did. This augmented his ſuſpicion, and changed that of her Innocency into a worſe, of her Incontinence, which he now thought was the cauſe of *Alexander*'s Lamenting her ſo much: wherefore he ordered all but *Tyriotes* to quit the Room, and then thus conjured him to ſpeak the Truth, "I hope, ſaid he, "you are convinced of your danger in "affirming a Lye, when the Rack ſhall force the "Truth from you; that Truth which with "ſhame I am forced to ask, and which I charge "you by the Immortal Gods, and the Duty you "owe to me your King (if I may yet ſtile my-"ſelf ſo) to tell me: Could he, prompted by his "boundleſs Youth, reſiſt that Temptation, which "was in his power too. *Tyriotes* undauntedly af-firmed that ſhe was honourably treated of *Alexander*, and offered to confirm the ſame upon the Rack. This ſolemn Proteſtation convinced him, and then he began to weep, covering his Face, and at laſt, "Ye Gods, ſaid he, of my wret-"ched Country, if ye have determined that I

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"shall no longer Rule here, yet grant me this "last Requeſt, that none may be King of *Aſia*, "but he who ſo bravely conquered it, and pro-"ved himſelf ſo mild and merciful a Conque-"rour.

This conſideration of *Alexander*'s good Nature wrought ſo upon *Darius*, that although he made ſuch preparations for, and wholly ſet his mind upon the War, although he had twice ſued for Peace in vain, yet he ſent a Third Embaſſy with new and better Conditions of Peace, by Ten of the Blood Royal, whom *Alexander* at their arrival commanded to be introduced, and the chief of them ſpake to this Effect:

"We are come, Great Sir, after two denials "of Peace, to intreat it once more; not but "that your Generous Temper of Mind induced "*Darius* to it, more than the Victories you have "hitherto gain'd, compell'd him. That Generoſi-"ty which prompted you to make the Captivi-"ty of his Mother, Wife, and Children, as "like their Liberty, as without his Preſence it "poſſibly could be: That Generoſity which "took no leſs than a Father's care in preſerving "their Chaſtity, which not only lets them re-"tain the Title, but alſo the State and Gran-"deur of Queens: This gave us hopes of our "good Succeſs. Methinks I ſee the ſame ſigns "of a Majeſtick ſorrow in your Face, as ap-"peared in that of my Maſters, when he laid "his Commands on me; but he mourns for "the Loſs of his Wife, you of your Enemy. "By this time would you be on your march a-"gainſt him, and at the head of your Army, "did not the Solemnity of her Interment de-

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"tain

" tain you; you cannot therefore wonder if we " ſeek Peace with ſo merciful and friendly an E- " nemy. What need of Weapons where all ha- " tred is ceaſed? In the former offer he gave no " more than to the River *Halys*, that borders upon " *Lydia*; now he deſires you to accept of all the " Country between *Euphrates* and the *Helleſpont*, " for his Daughters Portion; and his Son *Occhus* " for a Pledg of the Conditions of the Peace: " For a Ranſom of his Mother and two Daugh- " ters, he offereth for each 10000. Talents. If " your Wiſdom and Prudence did not encourage " me, I ſhould not take upon me to put you in " mind, that the time and circumſtances may en- " gage you, not only to accept, but to offer Con- " ditions of an honourable Peace. For if you " conſider the Countries you have already paſſed " over, which yet are ſmall to what remains to be " conquered, you cannot but conceive how hard " it will be, how dangerous to keep ſuch a King- " dom, the greatneſs of which you can ſcarce " magine. With what difficulty are great and un- " weildy Ships managed? This Conſideration " makes me think *Darius* his loſs inconſiderable, " becauſe where there is exceſs of Riches, the loſs " may do more good than hurt. As 'tis equal " praiſe to defend as to conquer ſome places, ſo " 'tis commonly harder. We eaſily ſnatch that " which we cannot keep; and the death of your " Enemies Wife hath robb'd you of one of the " nobleſt Monuments of your Clemency.

*Alexander* deſired them to withdraw a little while, and propoſed the matter to his Coun- cil, of whom not one durſt give his Opinion for ſome time. At laſt, ſaid *Parmenio*, " What " my Opinion always was concerning the Pri- " ſoners

"soners at *Damascus*, that you would let them "be redeemed, and then you had not only "gain'd vast Sums of Money, but also us'd "those Men who were wholly taken up "in Guarding them; the same is it in this "Case, that an Ancient Queen and two young "Women, who are but a trouble to our Soul-"diers, should be exchanged for 30000. Ta-"lents of Gold: That you would accept of a "Rich and Flourishing Kingdom, which you "may have without the uncertain chance of "War: A Kingdom so great, that no man be-"fore your self ever enjoyed so many Coun-"tries between *Ister* and *Euphrates*. That, "Lastly, you would rather look back on your "Native Country and Kingdom of *Macedon*, than "towards the Barbarous *Bactrians* and *Indians*.

The King was angry at his Opinion, and thus reply'd, "And were I *Parmenio* I should "perhaps be more desirous of Gold than Ho-"nour; But as I am *Alexander* I am secure "from want, or if not, I should always re-"member that I am a King not a Merchant. I "have nothing which the greatest heaps of Gold "shall buy, but least of all shall it purchase my "Honour. If I think it convenient to release "the Prisoners, it will be more Honourable and "like my self to do it without a Ransom.

After this Resolution he ordered his Atten-dants to bring in the Embassadors, and thus gave them their Answer, "Tell your Master "that I look upon Thanks as a Ceremony su-"perfluous between Enemies; what respect and "kindness I have shewed to his Relations, pro-"ceeded not from any design of Friendship, "but my own Disposition; that I use my

"Force

"Force againſt thoſe who are in a Condition
"to reſiſt it, not againſt thoſe I have Conquered:
"I uſe not to ſhew any Acts of Hoſtility to
"Captives, and thoſe Women too; it muſt
"be a Man, and he armed, that can provoke
"me. Had he with a good intent ſued for
"Peace, I ſhould have perhaps with ſome de-
"liberation have granted it; but ſince he hath
"made attempts upon the Loyalty of my
"Soldiers and the Love of my Friends, offe-
"ring Bribes to both to murther me; I reſolve
"to purſue him to the utmoſt, and not as an
"Honourable Enemy, but a baſe and low ſpiri-
"ted Traytor. And ſhould I accept of the
"Conditions he offers, I ſhould in a manner
"acknowledg him Conquerour. He offers all
"on the other ſide *Euphrates*, when at the ſame
"time I am beyond it, and my Camp fixed be-
"yond the bounds he deſigned of my Empire:
"Firſt drive me hence, that I may own that
"which you offer to be in your power to grant.
"As liberally doth he offer me his Daughter,
"which before he deſigned for one of his Sub-
"jects; and doth he think I eſteem it an Ho-
"nour to be prefer'd to be his Son-in-Law
"before *Mazæus*. No! return to your Prince
"and tell him, not that which I have alrea-
"dy Conquered, but what remains ſhall
"be the end of the War: That to Morrow
"Fortune ſhall determine the bounds of our
"Kingdoms; that I came into *Aſia* to Conquer
"and diſpoſe of Nations, not accept of them as
"a Gift. Would he own himſelf under me,
"and not deſire to be upon equal Terms, I
"might be more eaſily perſwaded to it. Other-
"wiſe as two Suns cannot at once give light and

"heat

"heat to the World, ſo cannot two ſuch Mo-
"narchs Reign at once. Adviſe him to yield to
"day, or prepare to morrow for the Battle, and
"not flatter himſelf with the hopes of better
"Fortune than hitherto he hath experienced.

The Embaſſadors anſwered, That he dealt nobly with them, in plainly expreſſing his Intent, and not flattering them with any hopes of Peace; wherefore they deſired leave to return, to adviſe their Prince to prepare to try his Fortune in a Battle.

*Darius* ſent *Mazæus* with a Party of 3000. Horſe to oppoſe *Alexander* in his Paſſage, who when he had performed all the Solemnity at the burial of *Darius*, his Wife, left moſt of his Carriages with a ſmall Convoy, and advanced toward the Enemy with the Body of his Army: His Foot he divided into two Parts, and placed the Horſe on each ſide with the Carriages in the midſt; then he ſent *Menidas* with a few *Scythian* Horſe to learn the Poſture of the Enemy; he approached nigh to the place where *Mazæus* was Poſted, and returning, affirmed that he could hear nothing but a confuſed noiſe of Men and Horſes. *Mazæus* alſo at the ſight of him retreated, affirming that the Enemy approached. Upon this *Darius*, meaning to fight in the open Field, commanded his Men to Arms, and put them in order. In the left Wing were the *Bactrians*, the *Dacæ*, the *Arbachoſians* and *Suſians*, of each 1000. next followed an hundred Armed Chariots, mentioned before: Then came *Beſſus* with 8000. *Bactrian* Horſe: The Rear was brought up by 2000. *Maſſagetæ* on Horſe-back; to theſe were added ſeveral Regiments of Foot of ſeveral Countrys;

Countrys; last the *Persians*, *Mardians*, and *Sogdians*, under the Command of *Ariobarzanes* and *Orodates*; *Orsines* of the Blood Royal, and of the Line of *Cyrus*, commanded this part of the Army. There were many People whose Nation was scarce ever heard of by their Neighbours: Next appeared 50. more Warlike Chariots, before whom marched *Phradates* with a great power of *Caspians*; then after all the Inhabitants of the Red Sea, who were more in number than strength, the other Fifty Chariots brought up the Rear. In the next place came the *Armenians*, after them the *Babylonians*; after these the *Belitæ* and the rest of the Inhabitants of the *Cossæan* Mountains; next the *Gortuans*, formerly incorporated with the *Medes*, but now ignorant of their Customs; then the *Phrygians* and *Cattenians*. The Rear was ended by the *Parthians*, who were sprung from the *Scythians*, but inhabited the Country now called *Parthia*. These made up the left Wing. On the right were the Inhabitants of *Armenia* the greater, *Cadusians*, *Cappadocians*, *Syrians* and *Medes*, these also had Fifty Warlike Chariots. The number of Horse was 145000. of the Foot full 600000. [so in the *Amsterdam* and other Editions, But in the Manuscript 45000 Horse and 200000 Foot.] In the forementioned order they marched Ten Furlongs, here they receiv'd the Command to stand and expect the Enemy. In the mean time the *Macedonians* Hearts began to fail them, though indeed they had no reason, but every one was strangely possessed with a secret and unaccountable fear; for it was in the heat of the Summer, and there happened great Flashes of Lightning, which as their fears suggested to

them

them seem'd to break forth from *Darius* his Tent. This amazement so wrought upon them, that had *Mazeus* then assailed them, he had doubtless made a great slaughter: But he, glad that himself was not Attacked, moved not from his Post.

*Alexander*, perceiving the surprize his Men were in, commanded them to halt, to lay down their Arms, and refresh themselves, assuring them that the Enemy was a good distance off and that they had no cause to fear any thing. In a little time they came to themselves, and Couragiously took up their Arms; notwithstanding this he fortified his Camp in that place. The next day *Mazeus*, who was placed by *Darius* with a choice Band of Men on a Hill, from whence he might see all the Motions of the Enemy, returned to his Master, and the *Macedonians* took possession of it, for it was more secure than the Plain, and from thence the Posture of the Enemy could be seen, and though the Mists that arose from the Mountains hindred them from making such perfect Observations of their Divisions and Ranks as they could have wished, yet they could discern many things worth the taking notice of. The Plains were quite covered with the vast Multitudes of Soldiers, and the noise was heard a great distance off.

Now began *Alexander* to consider with himself whether he should be advised by *Parmenio* or not; the State of Affairs much perswaded him to it, for he was so far entered that he could not retreat without the Conquest of his Enemies Army, or the loss of a great part of his own, besides he considered the great strength

of

of his Foe and his own weakneſs to oppoſe it. On the other ſide remembrance put him in mind what great Forces he had already overthrown with his ſmall Army; and the hope alone of doing the like turn'd the Scale againſt all his other Fears, and he reſolved to puſh on the War, leſt any ſuch fears ſhould ſurprize his Men. Wherefore diſſembling all doubt, he commanded the *Paeons*, who were Mercenary Soldiers, to march on for the Forlorn hope; after which his Army divided into two parts, as before was deſcribed, did follow. The day at laſt began to clear up, and the Miſts diſperſed, ſo that the order of their Adverſaries Battle clearly appeared; upon which the *Macedonians*, as if they were impatient of joyning Battle, gave a great Shout; which was returned by the *Perſians*, the latter was made more terrible by the Echo of the adjacent Valleys. So furious were the *Macedonians* grown, that the Commanders could ſcarce reſtrain them from running up to the Face of the Enemy. But *Alexander* deeming it more ſafe to fortifie himſelf on that Hill, and raiſing his Tent to a conſiderable height, from which he might Survey the Motion of *Darius*, he ſtayed there for ſome time.

But here appeared more danger than before he could imagine: The Armour both of Horſe and Men ſhone with a dazling Luſtre, and all things ſeem'd more carefully diſpoſed of than before they were; he obſerved the care of every Commander riding through the Ranks to encourage his Men to fight Courageouſly. Beſides this, many things, as the neighing of the Horſes, the brightneſs of their Armour, the

noiſe

noiſe of the Souldiers, though inſignificant, yet ſtruck a terror into his Mind; ſo that either being himſelf afraid of the Event, or deſirous to try if his Men were not ſo, he demanded what they ſhould do in that caſe. *Parmenio*, who was the moſt skilful in Military Affairs, told him, That a Stratagem, in the poſture Affairs then ſtood in, was more likely to prevail, than open Force. "In a tempeſtuous Night, ſaid he, "we may eaſily ſurprize them, whoſe Language "and Manners are ſo divers, and ſo unknown "one to another, that the Word of Command "will ſcarce be underſtood. They will not a-"wake, and ſtart into Order, ſo that we may "cut them off without reſiſtance. In the dead "time of the Night, the grim and hairy Coun-"tenances of the *Scythians*, and *Bactrians*, will "not diſcourage our Men, nor the great bulks "of their Bodies make them afraid to encoun-"ter with them. Beſides this, the ſmallneſs of "our Number will not appear contemptible, "and add to their Confidence; nor will they "be able, as in the Day-time, to circumvent "us.

This Advice ſeemed very ſeaſonable to almoſt every body, and the Attempt feaſible: Nay, *Polypercon* ſeemed not doubtful of the Victory, if this Counſel was taken: To whom the King replyed, (for though he was not willing to follow the Propoſal, yet becauſe he lately appeared ſo much diſpleaſed with *Parmenio*, the Author of it, before, he would not now direct his Speech to him) "But muſt I, ſaid he, take "ſuch ways as Thieves and Robbers do, whoſe "property it is to conquer by ſuch mean De-"ceits? Once have I been Conquerour in *Dari-*

"us his abſence, once when favoured by the "Streights; but neither theſe advantages, nor "that of the Night, ſhall rob me of the Glory of "this Victory. Let me rather complain of the "ill ſucceſs of the Fight, than be aſhamed to win "it. Nor is the Attempt ſo eaſie as you imagine; "for they keep too ſtrict a Watch to be ſurpri-"ſed: Wherefore think of nothing but prepa-"ration for a Battle in the open field.

This was his final Reſolution, and in order to it he commanded them to refreſh themſelves.

In the mean time *Darius* was miſtruſtful of their attempting him that way which *Parmenio* adviſed; therefore he commanded his Horſes to be bridled, his Watch diligently obſerved, and moſt part of his Forces in order, to receive them. In his Camp was a great light occaſioned by many Fires. He in Perſon, and many of his Captains rode through the Ranks, and implor'd the Sun, *Mars*, and their never-extinguiſh't Fire, to inſpire his Men with a Courage and Magnanimity worthy of their Predeceſſors.

He aſſured them, that if Man could give any gueſs which way the Gods were inclined, it ſeemed to be toward their ſide, becauſe the *Macedonians* gave evident ſigns, by their often removing, of the fear that poſſeſſed them. He affirmed, that the Tutelar Deities of *Perſia*, would puniſh their inconſiderate Enemies; That their very Leader was as much beſotted as the reſt, who, like wild beaſts, was greedy of Prey, and as raſhly, too never conſidered what danger he was to run through before he could attain it. Nor indeed was the Conſternation of the *Macedonians* leſs than he had repreſented it; for they had paſſed that Night in as much fear, as if the Battle had been

to

to be fought the next Morning. *Alexander* himself was never seen to show so much fear before; for he commanded *Aristander* to be brought, who went in Procession before the King, praying to *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Victoria*, and carrying in his Hand the sacred Garlands, and wearing a White Garment, with his Head uncovered. After he had performed all the Solemnities of his Sacrifice, he retired into his Tent, to spend the rest of the Night in sleep. But for a long while his distracting Cares would not let him sleep; for he could not but revolve in his mind which way he should encounter his Enemies; whether he should pour his Men down from the Mountain into the Right Wing, or bravely meet them in the Front. Sometimes he thought of attempting the Left Wing. With these thoughts at last his Spirits were tired, and he fell into a sound sleep: so that at break of day, when the Officers came to take their Orders, they stood round the Tent, being struck with a profound silence and admiration; That he who was wont so often to prevent their Care, and encourage them, should be able to sleep so long on the very brink of such a danger, though they look'd upon him rather stupified with the apprehension of it, than capable of taking true rest. None of his Attendants durst enter into the Tent, and the fatal time drew nigh, in which, without his direction, they would not take up their Arms, or fall into Order. *Parmenio* let the Day be far spent before he resolved what to do; at last he commanded the Souldiers to refresh themselves with Meat, and then himself went into the Pavilion, and calling the King, could not wake him, until he stirred him with his Hand. "Where is that Presence

" of Mind, said he, my Dread Sovereign, with
" which you used to excel all others? The Ene-
" my already is in order for the Battle, and upon
" his March, whilst your Men stand idle, waiting
" for the Word of Command from you.

The King replyed, " Thinkest thou I have not
" debated, and eased my Mind in what I doubt-
" ed, or that I could sleep before I had done
" so?

Immediately he commanded the Trumpets to sound; But still *Parmenio* expressed his amaze-ment, how he could at that time so carelessly take his rest. " 'Tis no wonder, answered he, " that now I can so securely take my repose, " since *Darius* now fully intends to give Battle; " what before was the cause of my Fears and " Amazement, was his laying waste all the " Country, his firing all the Villages, and de-" stroying all Provision. This made me almost " besides my self. Now have I my own desire, " which hereafter I will more particularly make " known. Every one betake him to his Com-" mand; I my self immediately will bring my " Orders.

In any Exigence he would seldom be advised by his Friends; but now he presently went into the Field, after he had just refreshed himself with moderate sustenance, and armed himself. As before he had never betrayed so much dis-trust, so he appeared more chearful and un-daunted than he had ever done; and from his very Countenance all took full assurance of good success. After he had demolished the For-tifications which he had made to secure his Camp, he drew out his whole Army, and plac-ced it in this Order: On the Right Wing was

that

that Battalion of Horſe call'd *Agema*, which *Clytus* commanded; to whom were joyned *Philotas*, and his Regiment, with ſeveral other Officers. The laſt Regiment, which was cloſe to the *Phalanx*, was *Meleager*'s. After the *Phalanx* were the *Agyraſpians*, commanded by *Nicanor*, Son to *Parmenio*. *Cænus*, with his Band, were placed behind, for a ſuccour to any part that ſhould be worſted. There were alſo *Oreſtes* and *Lynceſtes*; next them *Polypercon*, Commander of the Forreign Forces. *Philagus* alſo commanded the *Balacrians*, who were newly come into *Alexander*'s Service. This was the Right Wing, over which *Amyntas* was the chief Captain. In the Left Wing was *Craterus*, with the *Peloponneſian*, *Achæan*, and *Locrenſian* Horſe, together with *Marcon*, and his Troops. The outmoſt Men were the *Theſſalian* Cavalry, under the Conduct of *Philip*. This was the Order of the Left Wing; The Foot were thus fenced with the Horſe; and leſt they ſhould be incloſed, he placed a ſtrong Detachment behind; beſides, on the Wings he placed ſtrong Parties, who were ready to aſſail any that ſhould offer to ſurround them. Theſe were the *Agrians* and the *Cretian* Archers, under *Attalus*. In the Rear were the *Illyrians*, and ſome Mercenary Troops, who faced from the Front, to the intent that all ſides might be prepared alike. Here alſo ſtood the *Thracians* lightly armed. Thus were they all prepared againſt being circumvented, yet with one motion could face all one way. The Front was not ſtronger than the ſides, and the Rear as ſtrong as either. He gave this general Command, That if the *Barbarians* ſhould drive their Iron Chariots towards them, they ſhould open

their Ranks, assuring them, that if they did so they could not possibly do them any Mischief: Or if they drave them without any noise, that they should shout, and fall upon the affrighted Beasts that drew them, and kill them.

He advised those who had the Charge of the Wings, neither to keep their Ranks so close as to give the Enemy an occasion of inclosing them in, or so wide, that they might press into them. He left all his Carriages and Captives, in which were *Darius* his Mother and Children, on a Hill a little distance off, with a small number to guard them. *Parmenio* stood in the Left Wing, himself in the Right.

A little before they came within the cast of a Dart, one *Bion*, a Deserter, came full speed from the Adversary's Army, and advertised *Alexander*, That *Darius* had placed Iron Spikes, that would gore his Horse, and gave him Directions how to avoid the place. The King delivered him into safe Custody, and gave Orders, That all the Officers should acquaint the Horse with it, and direct them how to avoid it. But though all in so great an Army, could not hear the Advice, for the noise that was between them both, yet *Alexander*, riding between the Ranks, exhorted all that could hear, in this manner:

"This is the last Danger which attends us, "who have travell'd so far, and gained such glo"rious Conquests; the Decision of which de"pends on this Battle. Remember your Victo"ries won at *Granicus* and *Cilicia*: Remember "*Syria* and *Ægypt*; and let the remembrance stir "you up to conquer here as you subdued them "there. Consider, your Enemy consists of the "Relicks of an Army twice beaten, who now

"re-

" resolve to fight, because they can fly no farther,
" who having stood Three Days armed, are al-
" most dead for fear, before the Fight. In how
" great Desperation they are, their very Actions
" declare; Their burning and spoiling their own
" Country, plainly intimates, that they esteem
" nothing that remains, theirs, but their Enemies.
" Fear not, said he, the Names of *Scythians*, or
" *Cadusians*, nor esteem them the better Souldiers,
" because their Names are unknown, which ve-
" ry Reason argues their Ignorance in Military
" Affairs, as well as their obscurity and baseness.
" For couragious Mens Fame can never be obscu-
" red: But when the low-spirited Peasants are
" summoned from their Caves and Cottages, to a
" War, they bring nothing so terrible with them
" as their unheard of Names, into the Field.
" There are no Nations but what have heard of
" the Fame of the *Macedonian* Arms. Consider
" the ill management of their unruly Army:
" Some have only Darts, many only Slings, but
" scarce any good and serviceable Weapons: So
" on their side will be indeed more Spectators, on
" ours more to engage in the Battle. Nor will I
" expect you to follow my Exhortation, if I my
" self give you not Example, as well as Precept,
" by fighting among the foremost. As for the
" Booty, I hope I have not showed my self gree-
" dy of that: No, let the couragious Souldiers
" share that: What I desire chiefly to show for
" my Victories, are honourable Scars. So much
" to encourage the stout and resolute. If it
" be my Misfortune to have any others serve un-
" der me, let them consider, that necessity should
" make them valiant, since they are so far from
" any Receptacle to fly to, that 'twill be madness

"to give ground; for to gain their Country, be-
"tween which and them were ſo many Moun-
"tains and vaſt Rivers, was impoſſible. Thus
he encouraged the Commanders, and all that
ſtood near.

*Darius* in the mean time was in his left Wing, ſurrounded with many little Regiments of both Horſe and Foot. He look't upon the Army of the *Macedonians* with Contempt, becauſe their Ranks were thin, by being ſtretcht out. He ſate on an high Chariot, conſpicuous to all; wherefore, accompanying his Words with the Geſture of his Body, he made this Harangue to as many as could hear him.

"You are aſſembled here, and are now ready
"to fight, not ſo much for the glory of your an-
"cient Empire, as your own Lives and Fortunes;
"and what you infinitely prefer before them,
"your Liberty. This is the Day which muſt e-
"ther confirm to me, or to my Enemy, the
"greateſt and moſt flouriſhing Empire that any
"Age hath, or ſhall be able to produce; an Em-
"pire which not long ago knew no bounds; but
"on one ſide, the *Helleſpont*, on the other, the
"boundleſs Ocean. After our Defeat at the
"River *Granicus*, we were eaſily able to recruit
"our broken Forces; after that at *Cilicia*, we
"had *Syria* to fly into; *Tygris* and *Euphrates*
"were no ſmall Defences of our Empire. Now
"are we come to that Exigence, that we have
"no place to fly to. The ſpace of ground be-
"hind us is all waſted and ruined by a long and
"bloody War; Cities are unfrequented for want
"of Inhabitants, the ground unfruitful for want
"of Men to till it. Look upon your Wives and
"Children, which at your heels attend the For-
"tune

" tune of the Battle, who will fall a Prey into
" the Adverſary's hands, if you do not bravely
" defend them. All the parts of the Duty in-
" cumbent on me, I have punctually perform'd;
" I have levied an Army which theſe vaſt Plains
" are ſcarce able to contain; I have furniſhed all
" with all Neceſſaries both of Weapons and Pro-
" viſion; I have choſen ſuch a place where my
" ſtrength may be imployed: What remains to-
" ward a glorious Victory is to be performed by
" you: Dare but to fight couragiouſly, without a-
" ny reſpect to the Fame your Enemies have gain-
" ed in former Battles, and you conquer: For
" alas! 'tis but inconſiderate fool-hardineſs which
" you have all along eſteemed Valour. Let
" not the very Report of their Courage leſſen
" yours: If you bear their firſt On-ſet couragi-
" ouſly, you ſhall find their fierceneſs and famed
" Valour turn to Cowardice, as it is with Bees af-
" ter the loſs of their ſting. Here the open field
" plainly diſcovereth their ſmall Number, which
" the Mountains of *Cilicia* hid from your View.
" Look, the main body is emptied to fill up
" the Wings; and yet how thin! how much
" ſtretched out to appear greater, are the very
" Wings! Thoſe in the Rear already are turned
" ready for the flight. Alas! my very Chariots,
" with their Spikes and Swords, will cut them to
" pieces. Beſides, upon the Event of this Battle
" depends the ſucceſs of the whole War; for
" whither will the conquered Wretches fly,
" who are incloſed between the Two Rivers,
" *Tygris* and *Euphrates*? Their greateſt advanta-
" ges now prove the moſt incommodious; For
" the large Booties they have taken, give them
" that trouble which we are freed from, and us

" the

"the encouragement to fight to re-gain them;
"ſo that their great quantity of Prey will, I
"hope, prove both the Cauſe of the Victory,
"and Reward of your Valour. But if any
"there be to whom the Name of *Macedonian*
"ſeems terrible, let them conſider, that after ſo
"many loſſes as that ſmall Body of Men, ſince
"their arrival here, have ſuffered, there cannot
"remain ſo many, but that it may be better
"ſaid to fight againſt *Macedonian* Weapons,
"than Souldiers. And *Alexander* himſelf, as great
"as he appeareth to the Eyes of the Vulgar, is
"but a Mortal; a man raſh and inconſiderate,
"and as yet oweth more of his ſucceſs to our
"fears, than his own good Conduct. But how
"long can this Boldneſs ſucceed thus, without
"the guide and management of a prudent and
"ſteddy Governour? Fortune cannot always
"continue conſtant in favouring his raſh At-
"tempts; ſhe ſtill retains her ancient Character
"of failing at laſt, and all things muſt have their
"Viciſſitudes. 'Tis very probable that the Gods
"have determined to put ſome ſtop to the con-
"ſtant Current of their Favours to this Empire,
"which hath continued flouriſhing for 220 years
"together, rather than quite take them away;
"to put us in mind of the uncertainty and
"the mutability of our happieſt Eſtate, becauſe
"we then ſeldom conſider it. For how lately
"did we make an Inroad in *Greece*, by whoſe In-
"habitants we are now invaded? Thus are
"we all ſenſible of the Inconſtancy of For-
"tune: Each Nation affects a Soveraignty o-
"ver the other: Or if we have no ſuch hopes,
"we have a neceſſity that ought to put us upon
"great Attempts. For are we not come to that

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"Extremity, that I my self am in some respects "a Captive, my Wife, my Children, (those "Children, which hereafter are to be your "Kings) laid in Chains; and were it not in you, "without these, where is my Comfort? Consi-"der, the best half of your Emperour is taken; "Fight therefore to restore my dear Pledges to "my bosom; so dear, that I could lay down my "Life for their Ransom. Methinks I hear my "Mother, and my Children on their Knees, "imploring your aid, and the Gods, that you "would free them from their Chains, and all "the Miseries that attend a Captivity. Imagine "you saw this, and think how hardly they "brook their Servitude to those whom they once "thought unworthy to be their Servants. I see "the Enemies Army move towards us; and the "more apprehensive I am of the danger, the "more would I encourage you. Let me intreat "you by the Tutelar Gods of the Countrey, by "the Eternal unquenchable Fire, which ye see "before you, by the Sun which ariseth within "my Dominions, by the Glorious Memory of "*Cyrus*, suffer not that Empire which he transla-"ted from the *Medes* to us, to be snatched from "me. March on chearfully: Be as great Exam-"ples of Valour to your Posterity, as your An-"cestors have been to you. On your Swords "you carry certainty of present, and hopes of "future Liberty. He who can despise Death, "most commonly avoids it, whilst it pursues the "fearful, and overtakes them. I sit exalted in a "Chariot, not in compliance only with the Cu-"stom of our Country, but that all may see me: "And I desire I may be imitated by all, whether "I give Example of Valour or Idleness.

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In the mean while, to avoid the forementioned Danger, *Alexander* wheeled about, that he might oppose *Darius*, who was in the Left Wing of his Army. When *Darius* perceived it, he gave Orders to *Bessus*, to place the *Massagetan* Horse opposite to the Enemies Left Wing, and his armed Chariots to be poured in upon the Enemy.

Here, though those who drove them, ran on too furiously, in hopes the better to surprise their Adversaries, so that they themselves were overturned, yet did the Spears and Hooks tear many of the *Macedonians*, who did not by degrees open to them, but were put into a great disorder; which when *Mazæus* perceived, he straight dismist a Detachment of a Thousand Horse, to the relief of their own Men, who were Prisoners, whom he expected would have broken their Bonds at the approach of their own Party, and joyned with them in plundering the Enemies Carriages. But *Parmenio*, who was in the Left Wing, guessing the Design, sent *Polydamas* to advertise the King, and know what was to be done to prevent the danger. *Alexander* sent this Answer to *Parmenio*: "Go, tell "him, said he, That if we fight bravely, and "conquer, we shall not only recover our Booty "we had before, but add more new to it. "Tell him, No Men can possibly be drawn "out of the Battle; and let him therefore fight "as becomes a Captain, under my Father *Phi-* "*lip* and my self, without being concerned for a- "ny such loss.

All this while the *Barbarians* plundered, and having loosned the Chains of all their Captives, and slaying best part of the Convoy, they

they returned, and fiercely ſet upon the *Macedonians*, who were hardly put to it on all ſides.

So confident were the *Perſians* grown of the Day, that they ran with the greateſt joy imaginable to *Siſygambis*, and told her, That *Alexander* was overthrown, and greateſt part of his Men killed; and to confirm it, they added, That already they had rifled his Tents; which thing they eſteemed the infallible ſign of Victory. But not even this Report was able to work any change in the Queen, though accompanied with many Exhortations to give Signs of her Joy: She ſtill ſpake not one word, nor in the leaſt altered her Majeſtick Sorrow; but heard all this with a ſilent gravity, unwilling perhaps to tempt Fortune to inconſtancy, by ſhowing her Joy too ſoon. The Meſſengers of this good News could ſcarce diſcern the leaſt inclination ſhe had, whether this or the contrary ſhould be true. As negligent as the King ſeemed of his Carriages, yet *Amyntas*, General of the Horſe, came to the Relief of them, though 'tis not certain, whether of his own head, or by *Alexander*'s Command. But the few Troops he had were not able to ſtand againſt the *Scythians* and *Caduſians*; ſo that he return'd back, to carry the News to *Alexander* of what he had ſeen, but could not prevent. In this the grief of the King darkned his underſtanding; for he feared, and not without cauſe, that his Men would be more intent upon the loſs of their Prey, than winning of the Battle; wherefore he ſent *Aretes*, Commander of thoſe Archers which they call *Sariſſophori*, againſt the *Scythians*.

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In the mean time the Chariots were making at the *Phalanx*, who opened into a Lane, and as they paſſed by, ſlew the Beaſts, and the Men that were therein. The great ſlaughter of the Cattle and Men, filled the ſpace in the midſt of them. As ſoon as the Horſes received one Wound, they were impatient of Reins, and overturning the Chariots, drew them, and the dead Charioteers after them; and though through weakneſs they could not go, yet the pain they felt, made them ſtruggle. Notwithſtanding, ſome of them did much harm, cutting many Men, whoſe Limbs were to be ſeen on the ground, who, while the Wound was freſh, and their Blood hot, ſtood ſtill, but drop down as they began to cool.

By this time *Aretes* had ſlain the *Scythian* General, and well nigh defeated the reſt, but that another Party of *Bactrians* were ſent to their aſſiſtance, who turned the Scales, when Victory was inclining to the *Macedons*. Many of the *Macedonians* were ſlain, but the greateſt part eſcaped to *Alexander*. This encouraged the *Perſians* ſo much, that after a great Shout, ſuch a one as uſually attends a Victory, they ran upon their Oppoſers with incredible fierceneſs. On the other ſide, *Alexander* ſaw his Men begin to give ground; ſo that upbraiding ſome, encouraging others, he himſelf changed the whole Order of the Fight, and led them on furiouſly againſt their Enemies. The Right Wing of the *Perſians* was the thinneſt, for from thence thoſe were drawn, which ſurpriſed the Booty. Upon this *Alexander* made a terrible On-ſet, and ſlew many of them. Upon this the Left Wing wheeled about, with a

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Design to inclose him in; and, but that a strong Party of *Agrians* had bravely forced them to retire, they had certainly encompassed him, and put him in great danger.

Thus was the Order of both Armies intercepted: *Alexander* had Enemies both before and behind him: behind they were encountred by the *Agrians*, and before by the *Bactrians*, who returned from the Spoil, and could not recover their Ranks, but fought whereever they found an Enemy. The Presence of both the Kings encouraged their Men on both sides, and made the Fight more bloody. The number of slain was more of *Persians*, of the wounded almost equal. *Darius* was in his Chariot, *Alexander* on Horse-back, both defended by choice Companies of Men, who esteemed not their own Lives at all, in competition with their King's safety, both being possessed with the same desire of dying honourably in the Presence of their Prince. On both sides they who most strictly guarded their King were soonest slain, because every one affected the Honour of killing the Enemies General.

In the mean time, those who stood about *Alexander*, affirmed they saw an Eagle flying gently over him and his Horse, and seeming to hang gently in the Air, without any sign of fear at the dismal Prospect of slain Men, or the dreadful noise of the groans of the dying. Whether this were the Effect of strong imagination, or really so, is uncertain; but the chief *Soothsayer*, *Aristander*, cloathed in White, and with his Garland in his hand, showed the Souldiers, as they were fighting, the sight, and assured them it was an evident Token of Victory.

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This raiſed an incredible Courage and Reſolution in them who were before ſtruck with Amazement.

Thus was the Fight maintain'd; but at laſt, the Man who drove *Darius* his Chariot was ſlain: Both the *Perſians* and *Macedonians* thought it had been the King himſelf; ſo that a ſtrange mournful noiſe was heard throughout the Army, and diſheartned their own Men, who had as good of the Day as the Enemy. *Darius* his Attendants on his Left Hand fled, but thoſe on his Right conveyed him into the main Battle. In this Retreat he is reported to have drawn out his Sword, and been ready to have kill'd himſelf; but ſeeing his Men yet fighting couragiouſly, he thought he could not with Honour leave them yet. Now began the *Perſians* to give back, and loſe ground. To make uſe of this Opportunity, *Alexander* mounted a freſh Horſe (for he had tired many), woundingthe faces of thoſe that oppos'd, and the backs of thoſe that fled.

Now was the Face of Affairs ſo altered, that it could no longer be called a Fight; for *Darius* having turned his Chariot to fly, the *Macedonians* butcher'd them without being reſiſted. But the Duſt which was ſtirred up, took away all Proſpect, and they knew not one another but by their Speech, only the noiſe of the Chariots directed the *Macedonians* in their purſuit.

This was the Fortune of *Alexander* in his Right Wing; but from the Left, commanded by *Parmenio*, he was advertized by ſome Horſemen, that *Mazæus*, having ſuch incredible numbers, had almoſt ſurrounded them; and unleſs he

he ſent ſpeedy Relief, all would be inevitably loſt; becauſe they would certainly fly. The King had purſued his Enemies a great way, before this unwelcome News came to him; but commanding his Men to retreat, appeared exceedingly impatient, that he ſhould ſo loſe the Victory, and that *Darius* ſhould conquer more in his Flight, than he who had purſued him.

By this time *Mazæus* had notice that his Maſter was conquered and fled. This amazed him ſo, that he began to urge his good Fortune with leſs vigour than he ought to have done. *Parmenio* was altogether ignorant of the ſudden alteration in the fight; but underſtanding well the Opportunity of it, he thus encouraged the *Theſſalian* Horſe: "Look, ſaid he, what a ſtrange "Confuſion hath ſeized them, who but now "preſſed ſo hard upon us: The Fortune that "attends our King, gives us even in his abſence "the Victory. The Fields are covered with "dead Bodies of the *Perſians*, and the living fly; "and are you to be overcome by vanquiſhed "men?

His Words wrought as great an Effect as if he had really ſpoken the Truth; for being much encouraged, they fell upon their Enemies, who not by degrees, but on a ſudden, gave ground; and that ſo faſt, that it was a perfect flight, but that they did not turn their backs. *Parmenio* kept back his Men from preſſing forward, becauſe he knew not what ſucceſs the King had. This gave *Mazæus* time to conſider of his Flight, who fetching an indirect courſe, croſſed the River *Tygris*, and made towards *Babylon* with the reſt of his Forces. *Darius* came to the River *Lycus*, with a very few that accompanied him in his Flight.

Here he was told the Enemy was at his Heels; wherefore he was in a doubt, whether he ſhould deſtroy the Bridge; but conſidering that then all that followed him would inevitably fall into the hands of the Enemy, he forbore, and choſe rather to give them opportunity to purſue him, than take away all poſſibility of eſcaping from his own men. In his flight he paſſed over much ground, and at length arrived at *Arbela* about midnight. But to return to the bloody Scene that was to be ſeen. Oh! the Changes and Viciſſitudes of Humane Affairs! Who is able to imagine, much leſs expreſs the ſlaughter of the vanquiſhed, the quantity of blood that was ſpilt, that of the Nobles and Vulgar being mingled together, the number of Men ſlain in the Battle, which determined the Empire of the whole World to the Conquerour? Some in their flight choſe the ſhorteſt way, ſome the moſt obſcure and hardeſt to be found out. The Horſe and Foot were mingled, the maimed with the ſound, but all without any Leader. At laſt, the pity they had, and ought to have ſhowed to the weakeſt, was ſwallowed up with their own fear; and they who could not follow faſt enough, were left to bemoan and comfort one another. Thirſt was the greateſt affliction to the wounded, and the tired; ſo that when they came to any River, they threw themſelves along, to drink of the running ſtreams, to quench it. This might indeed quench their thirſt, but the water being made muddy, they were worſe tormented after they had drank it than before, and not being able to riſe, were wounded a-freſh by their Enemies. Many ſought out the very Spring, becauſe the reſt of the River was taken up; nor was there any Puddle that was

not

not drank almoſt dry. From all the Villages near the Road was heard a confuſed cry, which ſtill call'd upon *Darius* as their King. *Alexander* in his purſuit, came at laſt to the River *Lycus*, where were great numbers of his Enemies upon the Bridge, paſſing over, many of whom upon the approach of the *Macedonians*, plunged themſelves into the River, and being heavy with their Armour, and weary with travel, periſhed in the water. So great was the number of them, and their fear, that neither the Bridge, nor the River it ſelf was able to contain them: For the fear of Death at firſt ſeiſed on them, and that ſtill, and no better did they look for. *Alexander*'s Men deſired him, that he would not ſuffer any of his Enemies to eſcape; but he, to ſuppreſs their too eager deſire, told them, that they themſelves were weary, their Weapons dulled, that Night came on very faſt; adding, that he intended to return, and ſuccour his Left Wing, of the ſucceſs of which he was not ſatisfied. Juſt as he had turn'd his Colours, and his Men faced about, a Party of Horſe came, and brought him the joyful News from *Parmenio*, of his Victory. But as yet it was not perfect; for the greateſt danger happened after the Fight. As he was returning to his Camp, followed by a few, and thoſe out of Order, and puſt up with the Pride of the Conqueſt, ſuppoſing all the numerous Army of the Adverſaries either kill'd or fled, on a ſudden appeared a ſtrong Body of Horſe, who at the ſight of the *Macedonians* made a halt; but diſcerning the number of them, charged them ſtoutly. The King marched on in the Front, ſeeming not to take ſo much notice of the danger as really he did. Nor did his conſtant ſucceſs in the greateſt dangers fail him in this; for

he himſelf ran the Commander of the *Perſians* through the Body, as he was preſſing too raſhly upon him. He fell off from his Horſe, and the next ſhar'd the ſame Fate, and ſo did many more, by the King's own hand. His Attendants bravely followed his Example: Nor did the *Perſians* ſell their Lives cheaply: Nor did the two whole Armies at firſt engage more fiercely than did theſe two ſcattered Troops. The Skirmiſh laſted till the Evening, when the *Barbarians* looking upon it ſafer to fly than ſtand it out, betook themſelves to their heels in divers Companies. After this extraordinary danger, he met with no more, but ſafely came to his Camp. The *Macedonians* counted the ſlain of the Enemy, and the number amounted to 40000. They loſt under 300. This Victory was to be attributed more to *Alexander*'s Valour than good Fortune; for he conquered here by true Courage and Reſolution, not by the advantage of the ground he fought upon. Before the Fight he very skillfully put his Men in Order, during the time of it, he fought himſelf couragiouſly, and very prudently deſpiſed the loſs of his Carriages, being ſenſible, that all depended upon his ſucceſs in the Battle. He behaved himſelf as a Conquerour, while the Event was doubtful; and ſo amazing his Enemies, made good uſe of their Confuſion. Nay, what is moſt admirable in ſuch a fiery Nature, when he had fully routed them, he moderately and wiſely managed the purſuit; for had he followed that, and quite deſerted his other Wing, he had either hazarded the Victory, or gained it by the Courage of another. Nay, when he met the laſt danger, had he not ſo ſtoutly withſtood it, he had either ſhamefully fled, or miſerably periſhed, even after his Conqueſt.

But

But as the King is much to be praiſed, ſo neither were his Captains unworthy of Commendation: For the Wounds they received are ſufficient Evidences of their Courage. *Hephæſtion* was wounded in the Arm with a Spear, *Perdiccas*, *Cænus* and *Menidas* almoſt kill'd by Arrows. And if we will give a true Eſtimate of *Alexander* and his Souldiers, all muſt confeſs, that they were mutually happy in, and deſerving of each other, He of ſuch Souldiers, They of ſuch a brave and valiant Commander.

*The end of the Fourth Book.*

# The Fifth Book.

WHilſt the War was thus carried on in *Aſia*, many memorable Actions were performed in *Greece*, *Thrace*, and *Illyria*, by *Alexander*'s Vice-Roys reſiding therein; which to ſpeak of in their Order, would interrupt the Courſe of my Hiſtory, in which I have deſigned to relate the Actions of *Alexander* againſt *Darius*, and ſpeak of them in the order in which they were done: In purſuance of which purpoſe I will begin with thoſe things which happened after the famous Battle of *Arbela*. *Darius*, about midnight, came to *Arbela*, to which place the greater part of his Souldiers and Attendants were fled before him, whom he cauſed to be aſſembled, and thus ſpake to them: "I doubt not, ſaid he, but the Conquerour will "now turn all his Force againſt the moſt flouriſh- "ing Cities, and ſeek out the moſt fruitful places "of the Country, ſeeing that rich Spoils and "Booties are the only Object both of his own "and his Souldiers inſatiable Deſires. And con- "ſidering the Condition Fortune hath reduced "me to, the farther loſs of my Treaſure will be "a great means of my ſafety. For while the E- "nemy is buſied in ſpoiling the fruitful Country, "I, with a ſelect Company, will retreat into the "barren, and from thence into thoſe places of "my Empire, to which the Calamity of War "hath

"hath not yet come, and there recruit my van-
"quiſhed Forces. Let the greedy Souldiers glut
"themſelves with Treaſure, and ſatisfie their
"longing deſire of Gold; that deceitful Gold
"which will become our own Booty. By dear
"Experience I have learn't, that rich Furniture,
"the moſt beautiful Concubines and Eunuchs,
"are falſe and flattering pleaſures, but real In-
"cumbrances in a War: ſuch Incumbrances as
"muſt of neceſſity reduce *Alexander* to as low a
"Condition as I am in, and make him a ſlave to
"thoſe he hath conquered.

All that heard him look't upon this to be a very deſperate Concluſion; for that they now perceived, that the rich and great City of *Babylon*, that *Suſa*, and all the Ornaments of the Empire, as well as Cauſes of the War, would be left for Plunder to the Enemy. But *Darius* added, "That all Conſideration and Speeches of the "Riches and Splendor of the places, were to "ſtand in no Competition with what was inevi-"tably neceſſary: That a Victory was to be ob-"tained by Iron, not Golden Armour; That "neither the Richneſs, or Strength of Walls, "but the Courage of Souldiers, could ſtand a-"gainſt the Enemy: That all his Anceſtors loſt "many Battles by their faintneſs and fear, and "recovered them by this brave Reſolution.

Whether this his Counſel, or his Authority prevail'd with his Souldiers, is uncertain; but he ſtraight marched into *Media*; and in a few days the rich and famous City *Arbela*, was yielded to *Alexander*; a place filled with Royal Apparel of incredible value, and abounding with a vaſt Treaſure, by reaſon that all the Riches of the Army were there, which amounted to 4000. Talents,

beſides the rich Wardrobe. He ſtayed here but a ſhort time, becauſe being nigh the place where the Battle was fought, the dead bodies infected the Air, and cauſed many Diſeaſes in his Camp.

As they removed from thence, on their Left Hand lay the Country of *Arabia*, famous for the ſweet ſmells which delight thoſe who travel near it. They paſſed alſo through the Fields between *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, which are of ſo fat and fruitful a Soil, that the Inhabitants are reported not to ſuffer their Cattle to feed too long, leſt they ſhould ſurfeit thereon. The Cauſe of this unuſual Fertility is thought to be the moiſture of both the Rivers, which diſperſeth it ſelf throughout all the Veins and Pores of the Earth. Theſe two Rivers ariſe out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, and from thence in a large and deep Channel, they continue their Courſe. Thoſe who have had the Curioſity of meaſuring the broadeſt place, between the Mountains of *Armenia*, have found it 2500. Furlongs in breadth: Towards *Media*, and the Country of the *Gordians*, they come nearer; and the farther they ſtretch themſelves, the nigher they are to each other. They bound *Media* on both ſides, and are near that place which the Inhabitants call *Meſopotamia*. They appear in the Borders of *Babylon* as far as the *Red Sea*.

After Four Days March, *Alexander* came to the City *Mennis*, near which is a Pit, and in it a Fountain bubling up a Bituminous Matter, with which it is very probable the ſtones in the Walls of *Babylon* are cemented. To this City *Mazæus* had fled out of the Battle, and here he, with his Children that were grown up, yielded up the City

City to *Alexander*. His Submiſſion was very acceptable to the King; for the Siege of ſo ſtrong a Town, could not but much have weakened his Forces: And beſides, ſo famous a Man of tried Valour, and notable in the laſt Battle, yielding up himſelf, was look't upon by *Alexander* as a great Encouragement to others to do the like. He received him with great ſhew of kindneſs. But at the ſame time he caſt his Men into a *Phalanx*, and commanded them to enter into the City in that order, himſelf marching at the Head of them. Great Multitudes of the *Babylonians* flocked out to meet him, and appeared upon the Walls, being very deſirous to ſee their new King; among which, one *Bagophanes*, the Commander of the Caſtle, and Keeper of *Darius* his Treaſure, leſt *Mazæus* ſhould out-do him in Humility and Reſpect to *Alexander*, ſtrewed all the way with Flowers and Garlands, having built on each ſide Altars, on which were Frankincenſe, and all manner of Perfumes, burning. After followed ſeveral Preſents of Cattle and Horſes; before him were carried Lions and Leopards: Next, the Prieſts ſinging Hymns, after the manner of the Country. After theſe the *Chaldean* and *Babylonian Soothſayers*, and Artiſts in all manner of Muſick, who were wont to celebrate the famous Actions of their Kings. Laſt of all came *Babylonian* Horſemen with Furniture, both Men and Horſe appearing more luxurious than magnificent and great. *Alexander* commanded the Rabble to follow his Souldiers into the City; and he himſelf in the midſt of his Guards, in his Chariot, entred the City, and immediately after the Palace. The next day he went to take a View of the Wardrobe and Exchequer of *Darius*, which,

which, together with the ſtateline ſs and beauty of the City, amazed not only the King, but all that beheld it.

*Semiramis* (or, as many believe, *Belus*) built this City, whoſe Palace is yet ſtanding: The Walls of it are built with Brick, and the Bituminous Matter mentioned before, inſtead of Mortar. They are 32. Foot broad; ſo that two Chariots may, without any danger, meet upon them, and paſs by one another. The Wall is 100. Cubits high: The Towers are Ten Foot higher than the Walls. The whole Circumference contains 358. Furlongs; and 'tis reported, that a Furlong was finiſhed every day. The Houſes joyn not to the Walls, but are almoſt an Acre diſtant. Nor indeed is there above 80. Furlongs of it that hath any Buildings, and thoſe ſcattered up and down. The Reaſon of which, I conceive to be the Opinion they had, that it was ſafer: The reſt of the ground they imploy in manuring and ſowing it, that in the time of a Siege they might have Proviſion within themſelves. The River *Euphrates* runs through it, and hath vaſt high Banks to hinder its overflowing; beſides which are ſeveral Pits and Lakes, to receive it, leſt it ſhould damage their Houſes, which are built with Bricks hardned in the fire, and with a clammy matter for Mortar. Over the River is a Stone-bridge, which unites the Two Parts of the City. This Bridge is reckoned among the Wonders of the *Eaſt*: For the Water of the River *Euphrates* cauſeth ſuch heaps of Slime and Mud, that 'tis hard to find the ground firm enough to lay a Foundation upon. The Sand alſo is forced down by the Channel, and obſtructs the courſe of the River about the

the Arches of the Bridge; ſo that the Water there is more rapid and ſwift, than where it runs in the wideſt places. The Citadel is Thirty Furlongs in compaſs, the Walls Eighty Foot high, and their Foundation Thirty Foot deep in the ground. Near this Caſtle is that Wonder ſo much magnified by the *Græcians*, the Gardens, which are equal to the height of the Wall, being built on Pillars, in which are many lofty and pleaſant Trees and Groves. The Pillars on which it ſtands are Stone, the top of which is paved with Stone alſo, and upon that is laid the Earth, which is very deep; and it produces Trees, the Body of which are Eight Cubits thick, and are Fifty Foot high; and they bear as much Fruit as if they grew on the Natural Ground. This vaſt Pile ſtands upon Twenty Broad Pillars, being Eleven Foot diſtant from each other: And it is very much to be wondred at, that Time, which not only deſtroys the Works of Art, but Nature alſo, ſhould ſo little prejudice this Building, which ſuſtains ſo great a number of Trees, that afar off they ſeem not unlike a Grove upon a Mountain. It is reported, That a King of *Syria*, who kept his Court at *Babylon*, at the Requeſt of his Queen, who extreamly delighted in Groves and pleaſant Fields, built this admirable artificial one, to imitate, as much as Art could, thoſe which are natural.

*Alexander* ſtayed in this City longer than ever he had done in any before, though no place was ſo pernicious to Military Diſcipline as this, as being a place in which all Licentiouſneſs was practiſed, and wherein were all the Temptations imaginable to a lewd and debauched

bauched Life. Here the Inhabitants proſtituted their very Wives and Children to Travellers for a good price. Balls and Banquets are very much frequented by the Kings, and all the Nobility; and the *Babylonians* are much addicted to Drunkenneſs, and all the bad Effects of it. The Women, at the beginning of a Banquet, are modeſt in both Attire and Geſture, but by degrees they put off the Upper Garments, and at laſt Modeſty it ſelf; ſo that they put off the very laſt of their Cloaths: Nor is this the Cuſtom of the Harlots only, but the graver ſort of Matrons alſo look upon this Beaſtlineſs as Complaiſance and good Humour.

With theſe Vices and ill Habits was that victorious Army which had ſubdued almoſt all *Aſia*, ſo ſoftned and corrupted in the ſpace of Four and Thirty Days, that had they had an Enemy equal to what they had conquered, they had ſhamefully loſt all they had gain'd before. But here this Misfortune was leſſened, and he receiv'd a Supply of Souldiers out of *Macedon*, to recruit his broken and debauch'd Army. For *Amyntas* brought him 6000. *Macedonian* Foot, and 500. Horſe of the ſame Country, from *Antipater*: Of *Thracians* he brought 3500. Foot, and 600. Horſe, beſides Mercenaries, which were ſent from *Peloponneſus*; *viz.* 4000. Foot, and 380. Horſe. *Amyntas* alſo was accompanied with Fifty Young Noblemen of *Macedon*, to guard his Perſon, and to attend on him at his Banquets. Theſe alſo held his Stirrup at his taking Horſe, and attended on him in his hunting, and by turns watch'd at his Bed-Chamber-Door; which

which Offices are look't upon as the firſt ſteps, and ready way to their advancement. The Government of the Caſtle he conferred on *Agathon*, and gave him for the Garriſon 700. *Macedonians*, and 300. Mercenaries. The Country and City of *Babylon* he committed to *Menetas*, and *Apollodorus*, with a Detachment of 2000. Foot, and 1000. Talents for their Pay, commanding each to ſuccour the other, if occaſion required. He gave *Mazæus* a Lieutenancy in *Babylon*, but ordered *Bagophenes* to attend him. *Armenia* he left to the care of *Mithrenes*, who had betrayed *Sardis*. To the *Macedonian* Horſe he gave 600. *Deniers*, to the reſt 500. and ordered 200. to the Foot Souldiers [value 8. *d.* ½. of our Money].

After he had thus ordered his Affairs, he entred into the Country call'd *Satrapene*, a very fertile Country, and abounding with all manner of Proviſion. In this place he ſtayed a conſiderable time; but leſt by idleneſs his Souldiers ſhould forget their accuſtomed Diſcipline, he appointed Military Exerciſe, and certain Umpires therein, to diſtribute Rewards according to their diſcretion. Eight of thoſe who were eſteemed the moſt Valiant, were Commanders over ſo many Thouſands, who from thence were call'd Captains over a Thouſand [*Chiliarchæ*, ἀ χίλιοι, and ἀρχέω], into which number he divided his Men, when formerly 500. made a Regiment: Neither before his time were any Reward propoſed to any. Great Companies of Souldiers flocked to this Exerciſe, as well to judge of the Determination of the Judges themſelves, as of the Deeds of the Performers: Nor indeed was it probable that any one could in that caſe be partial. The firſt that receiv'd any Prize of his Valour was *Adriarchia*

*driarchias* the Elder, by whose sole Valour and Conduct the Battle at *Halicarnassus*, which was so near being lost, was reviv'd: The next *Antigenes*, the Third *Philotas Anteus*, the Fourth *Amyntas*: The next in Deserts was *Antigonus*, the Sixth *Lyncestes Amyntas*, the Seventh *Theodotus*, the Eighth and last *Hellanicus*. *Alexander* here changed many things in warlike Affairs for the better, from what they had been in the time of his Ancestors. For whereas Men of different Countries were placed by themselves, with Commanders of their own, he now gave them Captains, without any such distinction. Whereas a Trumpet was to give notice of their marching, the Sound of which was commonly interrupted by the confus'd Noise in the Camp, he caused a Beacon to be erected over the Tent-Royal, the Fire of which was conspicuous to all by Night, by Day the Smoak.

When he was just entring into *Susa*, *Abulites*, the Governour thereof, whether by the Command of *Darius*, in hopes to retard him with a Prey, or by his own Inclination, is uncertain, sent his Son before, to meet him, promising to yield the place to him. The King entertain'd the Young Gentleman very kindly, and was conducted by him to the River *Choaspes*, famous for the Delicacy of its Water. In this place *Abulites* met him with some Presents, among which were Camels and Dromedaries, of incredible swiftness; and 12 Elephants, which were sent for by *Darius*, to terrifie the *Macedonians*, although contrary to his expectation, Fortune had put both those, and all his Riches, into the possession of the *Macedonians*. But as soon as he entred the City, he found an immense Treasure, to

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the value of Fifty Thouſand Talents in Silver uncoined.

Thus were the Riches which were hoarded up for many Ages, for the good of Poſterity, by many ſucceſſive Kings, in an Hour's time all put into the Hands of a Forreign Prince. The King ſate down in the Royal Throne, and when his Feet touched not the ground, one of his Attendants put a Table under them, which an Eunuch of *Darius* eſpying, began to ſigh; and when he was asked the Reaſon by *Alexander*, he anſwer'd, That he had often ſeen his Royal Maſter eat on that Table, which without Tears he could not behold the Footſtool of his Conquerour. The King very modeſtly commanded it to be removed, refuſing to violate any thing they held Sacred. To whom *Philotas*, "You "would not certainly remove it, if you conſider-"ed the *Omen* that may be drawn from your "putting your Feet on that Table at which your "Adverſary did celebrate his Banquets.

Hence the King went for *Perſis*, leaving *Suſa* to *Archelaus*, with a Garriſon of 3000. Men. The Caſtle he gave to *Xenophilus*, with 1000. ancient *Macedonians*. *Callicrates* he made Treaſurer. The Lieutenancy of the Country was continued to *Abulites*. In this City he left the Mother and Children of *Darius*. He preſented *Syſigambis*, the Mother of *Darius*, with ſome rich Purple Garments, made after the *Macedonian* manner: For he ſtill honoured her even with a Filial Reverence. He requeſted of her, that if ſhe liked them, her Grandaughters might honour him with one of their making. The Tears which the Royal Captives broke out into at this

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proffer, ſhewed how they diſdain'd the Task of ſuch a Command, than which nothing can be more reſented by the *Perſians*. The Affront he thought deſerved an Acknowledgment, and an Apology: Wherefore he thus ſpake to her: "Mother, ſaid he, This Garment which I wear "was both the Preſent and Handywork of my "own Siſter, which Cuſtom among us was the "occaſion of my Miſtake. Look not therefore "on my Ignorance as an Affront, ſince whatever "I underſtand of your Cuſtoms, I hope, are in-"violably obſerved to you. Since I underſtood "that the Cuſtom of your Country looks upon "it as a Fault in a Son to ſit in his Mothers pre-"ſence without her permiſſion, I have always "expected your Command of ſitting down. "How often, and how low would you have "proſtrated your ſelf to me, had not I forbid-"den it? And with the ſame Devotion and Du-"ty do I call you Mother, with which I did my "own Mother *Olympias*.

This Apology gave her ſatisfaction, and after Four Days Journey the King came to the River call'd by the Inhabitants *Paſitygris*. It hath its riſe in the Mountain *Uxiori*, and for Fifty Furlongs runs with a ſteep courſe through ſtony and woody places, till at laſt it runs more ſmoothly through ſome pleaſant Fields. Here it is navigable, and not far off exonerates it ſelf in the *Perſian* Sea.

*Alexander*, after he had paſſed over this River with 9000. Horſe of *Agrians*, and Mercenary *Græcians*, and 3000. more *Thracians*, came into the Country of the *Uxiori*. It borders on *Suſa* on one ſide, on the other on *Perſis*: Between it and *Suſa* the Paſſage is very narrow. One *Madathes* was

was Governour of this place; a Man not like the rest of *Darius*'s Captains, but resolved to resist to the utmost of his power. But some who were well skilled in the by-ways, advised *Alexander* to send a Company of men lightly armed through a secret Path, who would certainly come upon the backs, and surprise their Enemies. The Advice pleased him, and the Counsellors were to put their Counsel into Execution, by their Conduct; for he gave 500. Mercenaries to *Tauron*, and almost 1000. *Agrians*, and commanded them to set forward after Sunset. He himself about the Third Watch had passed the Streights, and by break of day cut down Timber for Bulwarks, to defend the Besiegers, and began formally to attacque the place. The Walls were rugged, and hard to climb, by reason of which they were often repulsed, and wounded; so that he seemed to have the place, as well as his Enemies, to encounter. Nevertheless they pressed forward, being encouraged by *Alexander*'s Presence, who asked them, if the Conquerours of so many Cities would not blush, to let so little, and inconsiderate a place resist them?

As he gave Orders among them, he was aimed at from all sides; but was defended by the Shields of his Attendants, though no perswasions they could invent, could prevail with him to retire.

At last *Tauron*, with his Company, appeared on the Walls, which equally dash't the one, and encouraged the other Party; so that the *Macedonians* fell on more briskly. The Townsmen were in a great straight, some being willing to die bravely, more to fly for safety, since there was no probability of resisting the Enemies Assaults. Great numbers betook themselves to the Ca-

ſtle, from whence they ſent Thirty Ambaſſadors, to ſue for Mercy, who receiv'd this ſad and amazing Anſwer from the enraged King; *That they ſhould not hope for Pardon.*

This put them into ſuch a fear of periſhing cruelly, that they privately diſpatched Meſſengers to *Syſigambis*, the Mother of *Darius*, by by-paths, beſeeching her to mitigate *Alexander*'s Rage againſt them, as knowing well, how like a Mother he reverenced and obeyed her. Beſides too, *Madathes* had married her Niece, and was near allied in Blood to *Darius*. She, for ſome time, rejected their Suit, and refuſed to intreat *Alexander* for their Lives; adding, That one in her condition ought to take care, leſt ſhe ſhould weary out the Clemency and good Nature of her Conquerour: That the preſent remembrance of her being Captive, made her forget ſhe had ever been a Queen. At laſt ſhe was overcome by their frequent and importunate Letters, and very modeſtly interceded to *Alexander* for them; Firſt intreating him to pardon her for the very Interceſſion, which ſhe alledged ſhe would in no wiſe have undertaken for an open Enemy, had not he been her Neighbour and Kinſman, and was now ready to be his Vaſſal: adding, That he would at leaſt forbear his Revenge, though juſt, on them; though at the ſame time he might eſteem it boldneſs in her to ask it.

How great his Clemency was, and how intire a ſubjection he kept his Paſſions under, this one Inſtance will ſerve to evince; For he pardoned not only *Madathes*, but all who either yielded themſelves, or were taken Priſoners, and ſet them at liberty: Their City he left without plundering it, and permitted them to enjoy their Lands and

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Poſſeſſions without Tribute. What more than this could even a Mother have obtain'd of her own Son?

Thus he ſubdued the Country of the *Uxians*, and united it to the Province of *Syſa*. Here he divided his Army, committing one party to *Parmenio*, whom he commanded to march through the Champaign Country; and he himſelf with the other part, being little troubled with Carriages, paſſed over that Ridge of Mountains which runs out into *Perſia*. After Three Days Journey he entred the borders of *Perſia*; in Five, the Streights which the Inhabitants call *Pylæ ſuſiæ*, and in his paſſage laid waſte all the Country. The Streights are full of craggy and ſteep Rocks, which *Ariobarzanes* guarded with 15000. Foot: Upon the Tops of the Rocks ſtood the *Barbarians*, without the caſt of a Dart, who feigning a fear, remained ſilent, with a ſeeming amazement; till the *Macedonians* had paſſed into the narroweſt place of the rugged way. Then obſerving them to march on unconcernedly, they rolled down great Stones, which falling on the Rocks, brake and deſtroyed whole Ranks at once. Nor did they truſt to the ſteepneſs of the place only, but alſo made uſe of Slings and Arrows, and with them did much incommode the Enemy. But what moſt enraged the valiant, was not the Deaths that they ſaw flying about, ſo much, as that like Beaſts caught in a Snare, they periſhed without any poſſibility of being revenged. And as one Miſchief generally attends another, ſo the forementioned Conſideration made them ſo eager, that by the help of the pieces that ſtuck out, and one lifting up another, they attempted to gain their Enemies ground;

but ſo many at once laying hold on one place, they pulled upon themſelves at once their own Death and Monument. To ſo great Extremity were they brought at laſt, that they were neither able to go forward, or retreat; to offend their Enemies, or defend themſelves with their Shields, the Stones being ſo heavy that were rolled down by their Enemies.

*Alexander*, who before that day had never attempted any thing without ſucceſs, nor knew what it was to be conquered, was not ſorrowful only, but aſhamed of this unhappy ſurpriſal. The Streights of *Cilicia* he had paſſed without danger, and by Sea made a new paſſage into *Pamphylia*, and found, or made, at leaſt, all things eaſie to him; but now his Fortune ſeemed to vary, and he knew no Expedient but to retreat. This he put in Execution, commanding his Men to go thick, and cover themſelves with their Shields, and to retreat, which they did, Thirty Furlongs.

Here, in an open place he encamped, and conſulted what was beſt to be done; and his Superſtition drave him ſo far, as to call the *Soothſayers*, and put the matter to them, of whom *Ariſtander*, that was moſt credited, could give no poſitive ſatisfactory Anſwer: wherefore laying aſide that thought, he call'd for thoſe who were beſt skilled in the Country. Theſe men ſhowed him another paſſage open and free, yet he diſdained to go without burying his dead, which Ceremony, above all others, is moſt religiouſly obſerved and maintained. The King called before him ſome Priſoners lately taken, among whom was one that ſpake both the *Græcian* and the *Perſian* Language very well, who gave him

good

good Information of the Country, that it was in vain for him to attempt to carry his Army over that Tract of Hills, which he ſaid, continued from Mount *Caucaſus* to *Perſia*, in length 1500. Furlongs, and 170. in breadth; at the end of which is the Sea. That at the Foot of the Mountain the ground was plain and fruitful, and well inhabited; That the River *Araxes* emptied it ſelf, with a great Torrent into *Medus*. *Medus* is a leſs River than that which it receives, and runneth towards the *South*; wherever the Water of it comes, it renders the place exceeding fruitful of Flowers, with which its Banks are always adorned; nor with them only, but with pleaſant Poplar and Plain-trees, ſo thick, that afar off it appears to be a pleaſant Grove; its Chanel is deep, but notwithſtanding the moiſture aſcends to the Root of the Trees, and contributes to their flouriſhing leaves and boughs.

This is eſteemed the moſt healthful part of all *Aſia*: The Air is temperate; for the Trees by their ſhadow leſſen the Heat of the Sun, and the Sea adjoyning, warms moderately the ground in Winter.

This Account did the Captive give the King, who asked him, if he reported this of his own knowledge, or by hear-ſay. He anſwered him, That he had been a Shepherd, and had travell'd all the Country over; adding, that once before he had been taken by the *Perſians* in *Lycia*, and now remained his Priſoner. This Anſwer put *Alexander* in mind of an Anſwer he formerly had receiv'd of the Oracle, which was, That his Guide into *Perſia* ſhould be a *Lycian* by Nation.

Upon this he made him ſuch Preſents as the preſent time, and his Condition required, and putting him into a *Macedonian* Habit, commanded him to conduct him to thoſe paſſages which he had informed him of; which paſſages he did not doubt to go through with a ſmall Company, though the Captive had laid forth the Difficulty ſufficiently; yet *Alexander* doubted not but that he could go for his Glory, whither a Herdſman could for the improvement of his Cattle. Still did the Guide urge the hardneſs of marching, eſpecially for Armed Men; but the King aſſured him, that his Souldiers never refuſed to go whither their Commanders durſt lead them.

*Craterus* was left Chief Commander in his abſence, with Orders to make more Fires than uſual in the Camp, for the more amuſement of the *Barbarians*, and that they might aſſuredly think *Alexander* to be there, who took his Guard of Foot, and thoſe which *Meleager* brought with him, with 200. Bow-men, and 1000. Horſe; Beſides, he ordered, that if *Ariobarzanes* ſhould come to hear of, and oppoſe his Stratagem, that *Craterus* ſhould divert him with a ſeeming greater Danger in a nigher place; Otherwiſe, if it ſucceeded, and he ſet upon them unawares, that as ſoon as they heard any diſorder in the Enemies Tent, they ſhould march that way where they had been repulſed, and he himſelf would engage the Enemy.

About the Third Watch, without any noiſe, the King ſet out toward his Enterpriſe, and each Man, being lightly armed, carried Proviſion for Three Days. He found the paſſage very difficult; For beſides the ſteepneſs of the places, the Snow was ſo deceitful, that they fell often into Pits, from

from whence when their Companions offered to lift them out, they fell in themſelves. Nor did the Night, together with the unevenneſs and ſtrangeneſs of the Country, a little increaſe their Apprehenſions; beſides, the reaſon they had to ſuſpect their Guide, who, if he proved falſe, might leave them as a Prey to the Enemy: ſo that the King's Safety depended upon the Fidelity of a Captive. At laſt he came to the top of the Hill, on the Right Hand of which *Ariobarzanes* himſelf was. Here he choſe out ſome of the Captives, and left them as Guides to *Philotas*, *Cenus*, *Amyntas*, and *Polyperchon*, who had a Party of Horſe, and another of Foot. He order'd, that they ſhould march on ſoftly, leſt the Foot, who were mingled with the Horſe, ſhould be too much haraſſed, and becauſe the place afforded good Graſs for the Horſes to feed upon. He himſelf, with a Band of Men, called by the *Macedonians* an *Agema*, undertook an hard and tireſome Journey through a by-way farther from the Enemy. About Noon they began to be very weary, and could not longer ſubſiſt without ſome reſt; for they were come not above half their Journey, though the worſt part of it was over. *Alexander* gave them to the Second Watch to refreſh themſelves with Sleep and Victuals, and after that he paſſed without much trouble, until he came juſt to the ſteepneſs of the Mountain that led into the Plain. Here the Springs had ſo worn away the Earth, and the Trees grew ſo cloſe, that the Boughs wrapped themſelves one within another, and ſeemed a long and deſigned Fence. So great was the deſperation that this caſt them into, that it almoſt forced Tears from them. This was increaſed alſo by the darkneſs of the

Night, and both the use of their Eyes and Ears was taken from them; for what light was cast by the Stars, was hindred by the Trees, the Leaves of which being moved by the Wind, made a dismal noise, and deprived them of encouraging one another. At last Light dispell'd both the Darkness, and many of the Difficulties that it had increased; for every Man was able to be his own Guide, and by a small Circuit avoid the Danger. Presently they arrived on the Top of the Hill, and bravely gave the Alarm to their Enemies, who were surprised with a Danger they so little suspected.

A small Party of the *Barbarians* assailed them, but were all cut off; so that the Crys of some dying, and others flying to their Companions for succour, put them all to flight, without trying how great the danger was. This disorder soon alarm'd *Craterus*, who presently put his Commands in Execution, and took possession of the Streights, with the whole Army. Besides, too *Philotas*, *Cœnus*, *Amyntas*, and *Polyperchon*, did not a little increase the Amazement of the vanquished Enemy, coming upon them on another side. Nevertheless, whether their Courage, or their desperate Necessity urged them, they began, and maintain'd a fierce Battle. The naked and unarmed engaged with the armed, and slew many with their own Weapons. *Ariobarzanes*, with Forty Horse, and 5000. Foot, brake through the main Body of the *Macedonians*, and with the loss of many of his own Men, and the Slaughter of his Foes, got to *Persepolis*; but being excluded by the Garrison, he returned, and renewed the Fight; but by that time *Craterus* had joyned with the King, he was slain, and all those that followed him.

*Alex-*

*Alexander* immediately encamped where the Enemy had been beaten. For though he had gained so compleat a Victory, that he feared no second Attacque, yet because of the many deep Ditches, he resolved to march slowly and warily, fearing more the Deceitfulness of his Journey than of his Enemies. In this place he receiv'd Letters from *Tiridates*, the Governour of the Treasure of *Darius* in *Persepolis*, who advised him to hasten his coming; for he could not withhold the Rabble from rifling the Treasury; adding, that the way was good, though the River *Araxes* was between them. This Message so fired him, that he here manifested his Expedition, for which in Military Affairs he was indeed incomparable. He straight left his Foot, and with his Horse travelled all the Night, and by break of day came to the River *Araxes*, over which, by pulling down some Villages, and using the Materials, he made a Bridge presently, and soon came within a short space of the City, where he was met by a Spectacle, as miserable perhaps as ever Fortune in her capriciousness hath made; it was 4000. *Graecians* taken Captives by the *Persians*, and by them used most barbarously; Some had Arms, some Legs, some Ears cut off, and all were branded with hot Iron, stamped with Letters of the *Persians*, for the perpetual Memory of the Slavery of the one, and hatred of the other. These, when they perceived they could resist *Alexander* no longer, they permitted to go meet the Conquerour. They seemed like the sad Remains of Men, of whom nothing but their Voice could be distinguished. More Compassion was shown to them than they seemed to have of themselves; for though they had suffer'd various Cru-

elties,

elties, yet could no Comparison be made between them, every one appearing to be the worst. They cryed out, that *Jove* had now shown them the Avenger of their Countries disgrace, and implored Mercy. *Alexander*, as soon as he had cleared his Eyes (for the sight had forced some Tears from him) gave them encouragement, and promised, that they should once more see their Country, their Wives and Children. He pitched his Tent here Two Furlongs off from *Persepolis*. The Men began to debate what they should desire of him; some were for a Colony in *Asia*, others for a Conveyance home; but one, call'd *Euclemon*, thus spake in the behalf of the rest:

"Most renowned Conquerour, We, who a little while since were ashamed to show our selves "and our wretched Deformities, of which we "know not whether we have more cause to be a-"shamed or grieved at, or to come out of our "loathsome Prison, even to implore help and assistance; now desire to triumph before all "*Greece*, and be proud of the cruel Marks of our "Sufferings. Although we must confess, that "they best bear their Misfortunes who least complain of them; nor can any place be so agreeable to such unfortunate Wretches as we are, as "Solitude, and, if possible, an entire forgetfulness of our own Miseries. For whoever place "their comfort in the grief of their Friends, may "as easily be deprived of it, as Friends forget the "sorrow of others misfortunes. None can long "love and pity any one whose Condition rendreth him contemptible; for Calamity is full "of complaint, and Prosperity proud, and scarce "sensible of long commiseration. For every one "when he pities another, looks into his own con-

"dition;

"dition; and had not we all been alike unfortu-
"nate, we had long before this been deſpiſed one
"by another. What wonder is it, if thoſe who
"are happy, deſire only the Company of thoſe
"who are ſo too? Let us therefore, as men repu-
"ted dead, enjoy ſome place where endleſs ba-
"niſhment may hide our Miſery and Diſgrace,
"and in Caves, as it were, bury our maimed bo-
"dies. For with what ſcorn will our Wives look
"on us, whom we married when young and lu-
"ſty, and now find decayed in Priſons and Wars?
"Will our Children acknowledge their Parents in
"this miſerable Eſtate? Or grant they would,
"alas! how few will be able to carry their mang-
"led bodies to their Country. Shall we, grown
"old in War, weakned with Hunger and Cold,
"and Wounds, be able to endure thoſe difficulties
"which have tired even armed men, and in their
"full ſtrength; men led on by ſo courageous a
"General? Conſider likewiſe the Wives and
"Children we have here with us, the only com-
"fort which our adverſe Fortune hath left us;
"Shall we abandon them here, and not know cer-
"tainly that ever we ſhall enjoy thoſe for whoſe
"ſakes we leave them; or ſhall we take thoſe
"home, to enjoy no better comfort than we find
"here? No certainly, let us here remain, and re-
"ly on their pity to whom our Calamities are ſo
"notorious.

This was the Opinion of *Euctemon*; but it was contradicted thus by *Theatus*, an *Athenian*:

"No conſidering man, replyed he, will paſs
"an unfavourable Sentence on our adverſity,
"which ſo manifeſtly appears to be the cruelty of
"a Foe, not an Error of Nature. He deſerves
"all ſorts of miſery who can be aſhamed of what

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"inconstant Fortune inflicts on him. None sure "will own themselves so unacquainted with Mor- "tality, so despairing of Compassion from o- "thers in their calamity, as to deny Pity and Re- "lief to men in our wretched condition. Since "therefore the propitious Gods have put that hap- "pines in our power which we never durst hope "for, of enjoying our Wives and Children, our "Country, and whatever the most barbarous Na- "tions stick not to defend with their dearest "blood, why stand we considering, whether we "shall leave this long and tedious Imprisonment, "and once more see our Native Country once "more breathe its wholsome Air. The Customs "and Speech of the Country, are the things "which all men so long for, that the want only "of them doubles the smart of their Wounds, "and the pain of their Prison. As for me, I'le "humbly desire, and gratefully accept the "King's leave to visit my Native Country. And "if any be so detain'd with the love of his Wife "and Children, so in love with misery, let them "not hinder others, who desire to die where first "they receiv'd their breath.

The Customs of the Country had so prevail'd with them, and so overcome Nature, that but few were of this latter Opinion, and the greater part were resolved to intreat of the King a place for them to live in; for which were chosen 100. whom *Alexander* judging they would ask what he was about to offer, thus bespake: "I have ordered you, said he, Beasts to carry "you to your Country, and to each a 1000. pence, "where when you are arrived, you shall enjoy "that Liberty, that, excepting your Maims and "Scars, your Neighbours shall all envy you.

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This forced freſh tears from them, and looking on the ground, they dared not either to look up, or expreſs their Minds in ſpeaking. The King at laſt required the reaſon of their confuſion; and at laſt *Euctemon* repeated to him what before he had adviſed his Countrymen to. The King pitying their reſolution, as well as their misfortune, ordered them 3000. *Deniers* a piece, and Ten Suits of Cloaths, with Cattle, and Corn, to till the Land he had appointed them.

The next day he call'd a Counſel, at which were preſent all the Officers of the Army, to whom *Alexander* repreſented his thoughts of *Perſepolis*, that it had been the chief City of the ancient and preſent Emperours; that conſequently in it were hatched all the Deſigns the *Perſians* had put in Execution againſt their Country; that from thence came the vaſt Armies of *Darius*, and that of *Xerxes*, with which they invaded *Europe*; and therefore he thought the place worthy to be ſacrificed to the Memory of their famous Countrymen. The City was almoſt quite deſerted by the Inhabitants, who fled ſeveral ways, according as every one thought it the ſafeſt; wherefore he marched in at the head of the *Phalanx*. Many great and rich Cities had he conquered before, or taken into protection, but none comparable to this. For hither had all the Provinces ſent in their Gold and Silver, all their precious and gaudy Cloaths, their rich Houſholdſtuff, fitter for Pomp and Oſtentation than for Uſe. In a word, it was ſo great, that the very Conquerours fell out for their Prey; each eſteeming him his Foe who had, as he thought, a richer Booty than himſelf; ſo great was the confuſion, that when all were loaden

den with Prey, they tore the Royal Garments, broke all the Maſſy Veſſels, and carried away nothing but what was ſpoiled and broken: And, as if variety had increaſed their deſire, they broke the Golden Shrines, dragging pieces after them: So cruel was the Plunder of the Victors, that when they were wearied with Gold and Silver, they ſlew thoſe of the Inhabitants who fled not. Each ſlew his Priſoners when he was poſſeſſed of the gain which he hoped for by them. Some therefore voluntarily ſlew themſelves; others, cloathed in their moſt coſtly Apparel, leaped from their Houſes. Of this mind were whole Families together. Others, to prevent what they expected from the Plunderers, ſet fire to their own dwellings, that they might periſh in the flames. At laſt the King gave order, That not only the Bodies, but all things belonging to the Female Sex, ſhould not be touched. The ſum of Money which was found in this City is almoſt incredible. But however Poſterity may think of it, it is reported, that no leſs than 120000. Talents were found in it; which Treaſure *Alexander* fully determined ſhould be imployed in carrying on the War, and for that purpoſe ſent for Camels and Mules from *Suſa* and *Babylon*, to carry it after him. Soon after he had *Paſergadus* delivered up to him by the Governour thereof, *Globares*. This City was built by *Cyrus*, and augmented his Treaſure with 6000. Talents more. He left a Garriſon of 3000. *Macedonians* in the Caſtle of *Perſepolis*, under *Nicarthides*'s Command, and continued the ſame Honour to *Tiridates*, which he enjoyed under *Darius*. He left alſo here the greateſt part of his Army and Carriages with *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a 1000. Horſe, and a Regiment of choſen Foot, marched him-

himſelf into the heart of the Kingdom, even in the midſt of Winter: and though he ſuffered much by Cold and Rain, and tempeſtuous weather, yet he did ſtill preſs forward with a brave Reſolution to reach the place he intended to ſee. He arrived in his Journey at a place where the vaſt Tracts of Snow were frozen very hard, where the vaſt Deſarts, the diſmal ſolitarineſs that preſented themſelves to his Souldiers Eyes, made them think that they were come to the fartheſt part of the Earth. Wherefore when they ſaw no appearance of any humane creature, they deſired the King, that he would retreat, leſt the very Light of the Sun, and the Elements, ſhould fail them in their march. The King, tho angry at their Demand, abſtained from puniſhing the Authors of it; but for their encouragement immediately leapt from his Horſe, and led them on Foot through the congealed Snow and Ice. His Example firſt moved his Friends to follow him, theirs the Officers, all together the Souldiers. The King went firſt, and with an Ax, made his way through the Ice, the reſt imitated him. At laſt having paſſed the Woods, which ſeemed before unpaſſable, they found ſome few ſigns of Inhabitants, ſome Cattle and Herds, and at laſt the Men themſelves, who, becauſe their Cottages were ſo placed, and ſurrounded with impregnable Fences, as they thought, when they ſaw on a ſudden an Enemy, immediately fled to the Mountains covered with Snow, and kill'd all who were not able to fly faſt enough. But by degrees, ſuch as fled, being informed of the truth by ſuch as were taken Priſoners, they yielded themſelves to *Alexander*, who uſed no cruelty towards them. Here he ſpoiled their Country, and ſubdued many Villages, and

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at length came to the Country of the *Mardi*, who are a warlike People, and differ much from the *Persians* in their way of living; Instead of Houses they dig a hole in a Mountain, and thrust themselves, and Wife and Children into it: They feed on wild beasts, as well as their flocks; and the Women seem to be of as strong a constitution, and as fierce as the Men. Their hair is long and shaggy, their cloaths reach no lower than their Knees, and that which they use for a Sling binds their Forehead, being both an Ornament and Weapon too. But this Nation also was brought under by *Alexander*'s Fortune, who within Thirty days from his setting out, returned again to *Persepolis*. And at his arrival he presented to every one of his Commanders such Gifts as they deserved; and after this manner he disposed of the greatest part of the Riches which he found there. But here it was that all the Princely Endowments of Mind, in which he far excelled all his Predecessors; that Constancy and Resolution which he always manifested in the greatest dangers; that admirable Expedition in contriving; that Courage in putting in Execution his Stratagems; that Faithfulness which he always observed to those that yielded on conditions; that Clemency he shewed to those he conquered; the incredible Moderation wherewith he used all Exercises and Pleasures, were almost all quite extinguished by the intolerable desire he had of drinking, and his Senses steeped and dulled with continual drunkenness: For whilst his Enemy was raising a Potent Army, and before his own new Conquests were well setled in their Allegiance, he had every day great Banquets, at which Women were present, and those too the most infamous for Lewdness,

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which Cuſtom ſo prevailed, that the whole Army was infinitely more peſtered there with them, than became ſuch warlike men. Among theſe was one named *Thais*, who being heated with Wine and Luſt, affirmed, that nothing could more ingratiate the King with all *Greece*, than to ſet fire to the Palace of *Perſepolis*: That thoſe expected no leſs of him, whoſe Cities had been burnt by the *Perſians*. The Harlot was ſeconded by many of his Attendants, being all mad with intoxicating Wine. Nor did the King want much inſtigation at that time; for he preſently cry'd out, *Why ceaſe we then to fire the City, and revenge the Injuries done to our Country?*

This ſet on the whole Company, and that City, which enraged, and in Arms they had ſpared, when drunk, they doom to deſtruction. The King himſelf put the firſt Torch towards it, and was followed by his Attendants and Harlots. Moſt of the Timber was *Cedar*, which preſently catched fire, and broke out into a very dreadful flame. This preſently alarm'd the whole Camp, which was near the City; and the Soldiers ſuppoſing it a Miſchance, haſtned to the preſervation of the place. But as ſoon as they came to the Porch, they ſpied the King himſelf firing it in more places; wherefore they threw down the Water they brought, and began to heap dry and combuſtible matter to the flame.

Thus was ruin'd the chiefeſt Palace of the whole *Eaſt*, the place which gave Laws to ſo many Nations, the Birth-place of ſo many

Monarchs, the only terror of *Greece*, having been able to equip a Navy of 1000. Ships, and an Army able to over-run all *Europe*, who made Bridges over the very Sea, and buried it in the vaſt Caverns of Mountains digged up by them. The *Macedonians* delighted more in other Cities, now in the poſſeſſion of the *Parthians*; and ſo far was this City from being rebuilt, that unleſs the River *Araxes* run near it, there are not left the leaſt ſigns to gueſs at its Foundation. The River *Araxes* ran near the Walls, and the City is reported by the Inhabitants to have been Twenty Furlongs from it; but they were not certain.

All the conſidering part of the *Macedonians* could not but bluſh to ſee ſo rich a City ſacrificed to the intemperance of their King, though at laſt they perſwaded themſelves, that the ruin of it might be warranted by ſome State-policy. But however, 'tis certain, that *Alexander*, after ſleep had brought him to himſelf, was extreamly ſorrowful, and confeſt, That had the *Græcians* ſeen him placed in the Throne of *Xerxes*, they would have ſuffer'd more from the *Perſians*. The next day he preſented *Lycius*, who was his Guide into *Perſia*, with Thirty Talents. From hence he paſſed into *Media*, and was met with a ſupply of Soldiers out of *Cilicia*, under the Command of *Plato*, an *Athenian*; Of Foot there were 5000. and 1000. Horſe. With this recruit he determined to continue his purſuit of *Darius*.

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In the mean time *Darius* arrived ſafe at *Ecbatana*, the *Metropolis* of all *Media* (a Summer-retreat); which is now in the hands of the *Parthians*, and intended to go for *Bactra*; but upon ſecond thoughts, that he might be ſurpriſed by *Alexander*, he altered his Reſolution. *Alexander* was 1500. Furlongs diſtant from him: but no diſtance ſeemed far enough to his incredible Celerity. Wherefore he put himſelf into a poſture of defence, rather than of flight. He had 30000. Foot; of whom 4000. were *Greeks*, and of unſpotted Loyalty to their Prince. He had 4000. Archers and Slingers alſo, beſides 3300. *Bactrian* Horſe, commanded by *Beſſus*, who was Governour of a Province in *Bactria*.

With this Army he withdrew from the Road, and ordering the Convoy of the Carriages to march on, he thus ſpake to his Council:

*My Friends and Countrymen, In vain ſhould I now ſpend my Breath, in making Harangues to you, did I ſuſpect in the leaſt, that any here were not fully reſolved to fight, and did not much leſs value his Life, than to ſtrive to prolong it ignobly. But ſince I have already had Experience of your faithful, though unfortunate Valour, I look upon my Duty to be rather to endeavour to make my ſelf worthy of ſuch friends, than to doubt whether you retain your accuſtomed Courage and Loyalty. Of all thoſe vaſt Numbers who came into the field to fight for me, you only have twice accompanied me in my flight, with as great Courage and fidelity, as when I was in my moſt flouriſhing condition, which Reaſon ſtill prompts me,*

*that I ought to think my ſelf a Monarch: Though thoſe who like Traitors and Slaves, have deſerted my declining Fortune, and Lord it in my Cities, yet let not them imagine, that 'tis their Deſerts placed them there, but the Conquerour's Policy, to tempt your Loyalty. But you (for which may the Gods ſhower down their Bleſſings on your heads, if they have decreed, that I ſhall never be able to requite you) have avoided all the allurements, and ſtill adher'd to me in my worſt of Extremities, rather than partake of the Victor's Honour. No Poſterity can be ſo ungrateful, as not to commemorate your vertuous Actions with Eternal Praiſe. Had I any intentions to fly, which I moſt abhor, yet the confidence I have conceiv'd of your Valour, would quite root out all cauſe of fear? How long, alas! ſhall I in my own Dominions ſhun and fly from a Forreign Prince, and ſuffer a baniſhment in my own Country, eſpecially ſince by venturing One Battle, and truſting to your undaunted Courage, I may recover all again, or at leaſt, die honourably in the field? For I hope none would counſel me to ſubmit my ſelf to the Sentence of the Conquerour, and like* Mazæus, *or* Mithrenes, *accept of the Government of one of my Provinces, if* Alexander's *Glory ſhould ſo much overcome his Wrath as to grant it me. No, let the Gods determine as they pleaſe, yet may this Diadem never be in the power of any one, either to deprive me of it, or beſtow it upon me. Let me not ſurvive one moment the loſs of my Crown, nor ever breathe leſs than an Emperour; for the ſame Day ſhall put an end to my Life and Reign together. And if any man fears the pride of an inſulting Enemy, let*

*let him have this mind, this ſteddy reſolution, and he ſhall deſpiſe both the pride and cruelty of the* Macedonians, *ſince his own right hand may either revenge or end his miſery. How inconſtant is Fortune, I my ſelf am no ſmall inſtance, and from that very inconſtancy, have reaſon to hope for better ſucceſs. However, ſhould the Gods be againſt us in this juſt and lawful defence of our Country, yet this remains the valiant man's comfort, that he can and dare die in the Bed of Honour. Let me therefore conjure you by the Fame of all your Anceſtors, who ſo long have maintain'd the Empire of the* East, *of thoſe Anceſtors to whom* Macedon *it ſelf once paid tribute; by the Glory of the vaſt Fleets and Armies ſent into* Greece, *by the Trophies of your Predeceſſors, and the honour of your Country, that you take a reſolution worthy your ſelves, worthy the Off-ſpring of ſuch brave men, that with as great Magnanimity ye try the future, as ye have born the former Events. As for my ſelf, either a compleat Victory, or a famous Enterpriſe, ſhall this day perpetuate my Name to Poſterity.*

After *Darius* had thus lively repreſented the deſperate juncture of Affairs to them, they were ſtrangely ſtruck with horror and amazement; nor could they think of, or give any advice; at laſt *Artabaſus*, who was an old Servant of *Darius*, and had been ſo to *Philip*, thus ſpake his mind:

*We are come into the field, and have adorned our ſelves with our moſt coſtly Apparel, with this reſolution, either to triumph in them for the Victory, or to die bravely, that that way they may become a prey to the Enemy.*

This every one ſeemed to aſſent to, but *Nabarzanes*, who with *Beſſus*, were engaged in a Conſpiracy, the like of which ſcarce hath been heard of; They had plotted to ſecure the King with thoſe Soldiers which they commanded, and intended if *Alexander* purſued them, to deliver him up a Priſoner, expecting ſome extraordinary reward for ſuch notable ſervice. But if they could make their eſcape, they deſigned to murther *Darius*, and joyntly to make War upon *Alexander*; and having driven him out, divide the Kingdom between themſelves. This had been a long time in agitation; wherefore *Nabarzanes* firſt broke the Ice towards it in this Speech;

*I know, my moſt dread Sovereign, that my Opinion, like a bitter Potion preſcribed to a deſperate Diſeaſe, will at firſt ſeem unpleaſant to your Ears; but as a Pilot in a dangerous ſtorm, endeavours to ſave ſomething, though with the loſs of that which is of equal value, ſo my advice is, tho not with any loſs, but with great eaſe to preſerve your Empire. We have been hitherto unfortunate throughout the courſe of the whole War, and Fortune ſtill perſiſts to vex the* Perſians; *wherefore let us change our deſigns, and make uſe of more proſperous Omens than two Overthrows are againſt us. Let this therefore be the ſtratagem, that another take upon him the Name and Grandeur of the King, and after the Enemy is driven out, reſign it up again to your Royal ſelf, which the moſt evident reaſon will perſwade any one may ſoon and eaſily be effected. For the whole Province of* Bactra *is untouch'd, the* Indians *and* Sagæ *are ſtill yours, from whence may be drawn more numbers of Men, both Horſe*

*Horſe and Foot, than you have loſt as yet. Why therefore, like bruits, do we blindly run on to our own deſtruction? Valiant Men ought rather to deſpiſe Death, than to hate Life. Cowards themſelves are forc'd to take care for themſelves, when tired by the means they take; but wiſe men ſhould leave nothing unattempted to ſecure themſelves, ſince Death is the laſt that they can endure, which if we approach to not too ſlowly, we deſerve Commendation. Therefore if we retreat to* Bactra, *let* Beſſus *bear the title of King for a while, as being Governour thereof, which with your whole Empire, he will be able and willing to reſtore to you again.*

'Tis no wonder if *Darius* was not moved with this counſel, though he did not in the leaſt ſuſpect the bloody deſign he had in hand, ſo that turning to him, *Thou baſe, mean-ſpirited ſlave,* ſaid he, *haſt thou choſen this time to diſcloſe that venomous Treaſon that lieth rankling in thy heart*; and drawing his Sword, had certainly ſtabbed him, had not *Beſſus* ſtept in, who with ſome *Bactrians* ſtood by, ſeeming ſorrowful, but with a deſign to have bound him, if he had perſiſted.

In the mean time *Nabarzanes* made his eſcape, and *Beſſus* immediately following him, they drew out the Forces which themſelves commanded, from the reſt of the Army, and began to enter into a deep Conſultation. *Artabaſus* therefore ſuiting his Counſel to the State of Affairs, began to mitigate *Darius* with telling him, *That he ſhould in that condition bear with either the Folly, or the Miſtakes of his Counſellors; That* Alexander, *an Ene-*

*my formidable to the greatest Power he could make against him, and especially if there were Divisions among his own Men, was approaching.*

*Darius* seemed to incline to his Advice; and though he had determined to move his Camp, yet he stayed a while, to compose the troubled minds of his Soldiers. He himself was so stupified with sorrow, as well as desperation, that he shut himself up in his own Pavilion; so that the Camp was filled with various Commotions, and being without a Commander, they consulted each for his private, not at all for the publick good. *Patron*, the Captain of the *Grecian* Auxiliaries, gave Orders, That his Men should go to Arms, and be ready to obey his commands. The *Persians* were by themselves, whom *Bessus* ceased not to tempt to a revolt, and retreat into *Bactria*, laying before them the Riches of that Country, which had not smarted under the Calamity of War: But they unanimously agreed, that it was a horrid Villany to desert their King.

In this confusion *Artabasus* took upon him the Person of the King, and going through the *Persians* Tents, encouraged them in particular, and in general, to obey the King's Commands, till he could perswade himself, that he had accomplished his design. After this, he at last prevail'd with *Darius* to eat, and not suffer his Princely Courage to be quite cast down.

In the mean while *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* were still fired with the desire of the Kingdom, and fully resolved to effect their treason-

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able designs: But no hopes appear'd while *Darius* lived: For the Veneration they pay to Kings, is so great, that at his sole command, they assemble, and pay him the same Allegiance and respect in adversity which they did in prosperity. But what most encouraged them in their desperate attempt, was the confidence they reposed in their Countries, which they knew to be all large, rich and populous as any of the *East*. For they had the Third part of *Asia*, and were able to bring as many men as *Darius* had lost.

Upon this Presumption they despised not *Darius* only, but *Alexander* himself, designing to re-inforce themselves from thence, and carry on the War against the *Macedonians*.

After many consultations, at last they pitched upon this, to seize upon *Darius* by the *Bactrians*, who were solely at their devotion, and then send word to *Alexander*, that they kept him alive purposely to deliver him into his hands. But if it fell out, as they feared, that he should refuse the Offer, then would they murther the King, and with their Army retreat into *Bactra*. But then they feared the number of the *Persians* that sided with *Darius*, would hinder them from attempting their design openly; besides, the faithfulness of the *Greeks* encreased the improbability of effecting it. Wherefore they resolved to make treachery bring that to pass which force could not, in order to which they designed to feign a sorrow, and beg pardon for their withdrawing themselves from the rest of the Army, and

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ſent ſeveral to try how the *Perſians* ſtood affected, if they might be wrought upon to ſide with them. Sometimes they put jealouſies into their heads, telling them, they ran into inevitable deſtruction; ſometimes they put them in hopes with the large promiſes of the treaſures they ſhould find in *Bactra*, which were ſo great, that they themſelves could not expreſs, nor the reſt comprehend it. While they thus tampered with the *Perſians*, *Artabaſus* came to *Beſſus* and *Nabarzanes*, whether of his own accord, or by the King's Command, is uncertain, and told them, he had pacified the King, and that he was willing to receive them into favour again. They preſently burſt out into feigned tears and prayers, that he would not fail to repreſent their ſorrow to *Darius*, as well as their ſubmiſſion to his will.

The night being thus ſpent, by break of day *Narbarzanes* was at the Door of the King's Pavilion, colouring his Treaſon with a pretence of performing a Solemn Duty to the King. *Darius* had cauſed warning to be given, and had mounted his Chariot, after the manner of his Country, to march, when *Nabarzanes*, and the reſt of the Parricides, falling down with ſeeming Veneration, ſeemed to adore him whom they deſigned immediately after to betray, not without Tears for their paſt fault, even while they intended a greater. So prone are Mens Wits to Diſſimulation. So artificially did they make their Repentance, that they forced Tears from *Darius* himſelf, being a man naturally of a mild and gentle

gentle Diſpoſition, who not only believed, but wept for joy at their penitence. But neither the conſideration of his good Nature, which ſo ſhowed it ſelf, nor of their wickedneſs, could move any compaſſion in them towards him, who now thought himſelf ſecure from any danger, from any one, but *Alexander*.

But *Patron*, Captain of the *Greeks*, gave Orders, that his Men ſhould put on the Armour which they had in their Carriages, and be ready upon any occaſion; For he perceived, or ſuſpected at leaſt, the Treaſon of *Beſſus*; wherefore he followed cloſe to the Chariot of *Darius*, ſeeking an opportunity of ſpeaking to him. *Beſſus* alſo ſuſpecting the ſame, never went from the King's Chariot, though he was rather a Traitor than a Guardian. *Patron* delayed his ſpeaking a great while, and ſometimes beginning, then leaving off, he was diſtracted between Loyalty and Fear, till at laſt, looking ſtedfaſtly on *Darius*, he commanded one *Bubace*, an Eunuch, to ask him, if he had ought to ſpeak to the King? *Patron* replied, he had a ſecret to impart, which required the abſence of his Attendants, which was done, and he approaching the King, ſpake thus, for in the *Greek* Tongue *Darius* needed no Interpreter:

*You cannot be ignorant, Great Sir, that of* 50000. *Græcians which have conſtantly remained with you in all changes of Fortune, a ſmall Company of us remain alive, and thoſe too as ready to obey you now, as if you were now in your greateſt Proſperity. Both your Eſtates have ſo made*

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*us your creatures, that we are fully reſolved to make that place our Country which you ſhall chuſe to reſide in. Wherefore I adjure you by this our unſhaken loyalty, that you would place your Pavilion in our Tents; that you would ſuffer us to be the immediate Guard of your Perſon; For, alas!* Greece *is loſt to us; we have no* Bactra *to go to; all our hope is you alone; and happy would you be if all your Souldiers could ſay the ſame. More it is not convenient to ſpeak: Nor ſhould I, who am a ſtranger and a forreigner, deſire to be your Guardian, if I did not ſuſpect the treachery of your own Countrymen and Subjects.*

*Beſſus* ſtood by, and though he did not underſtand the *Greek* Language, yet his Guilty Conſcience prompted him to ſuſpect that his Treaſon was detected, which ſuſpicion was confirmed by an Interpreter. But *Darius*, by as much as could be gueſſed by his Countenance, without any ſhow of fear, asked *Patron*, what was the occaſion of his Counſel, what he hinted ſo at? *Patron* judging it unſafe to delay it any longer, thus told him;

*Not without Reaſon*, ſaid he, *do I adviſe thus; for* Beſſus *and* Nabarzanes *have plotted againſt you, and no leſs than your Life is in danger; this day is to be the laſt of yours, or of the Conſpirators Lives.* Had the King well conſidered thoſe words, *Patron* had had the Honour of his preſervation. But let thoſe whoſe Opinion it is, that Chance hath the ſole Government of Humane Affairs, enjoy your ſuppoſition, and commit their Actions to it; the thoughts I have are, that every man lives and

acts

acts according as he is decreed by an order as ſecret as immutable, and by a Chain of Cauſes hidden from all Humane Underſtanding. *Darius* anſwered him thus; *That although he was ſufficiently certified of the faithfulneſs of the* Greeks, *yet in no wiſe would he forſake his natural Subjects, by whom he would chuſe to be betray'd, rather than truſt them. Whatever Fortune decrees, I will ſuffer rather among them than in baniſhment; and that he had lived too long already, if they did not wiſh him to ſurvive longer.*

With this anſwer *Patron* went to his Troops, and deſpairing of the King's ſafety, determined notwithſtanding to give proof of his Loyalty to the laſt.

In the mean while, though *Beſſus* had fully determined with himſelf to kill *Darius*, yet he deferred his intent till the night following, becauſe he thought he ſhould ingratiate himſelf more with *Alexander*, if he delivered him up alive; wherefore applying himſelf to *Darius*, he began to thank the Gods and himſelf for the care he had of himſelf in avoiding the Treachery of *Patron*, whom he alledged was corrupted by promiſes from *Alexander*, or at leaſt, that he deſired to preſent his Head to the Enemy. And the Reaſons he urged were, That 'twas no wonder that a Mercenary Souldier ſhould do any thing for Money; that one without Off-ſpring, without Houſe or Country, that was a baniſh't man every where, that would be an Enemy to thoſe that hired him, if corrupted by more Rewards from the Enemy, ſhould attempt any Treaſon whatever. Laſtly, he uſed many Evaſions to clear himſelf

ſelf, ſwearing by all the Gods, that he was innocent. This ſeemed to convince *Darius*, and in his Geſture nothing appeared but ſatisfaction; though he was fully perſwaded, that *Patron*'s Accuſation was really true, yet ſo deſperate were his Affairs at that time, that it was as ſafe for him to be betrayed by his Countrymen, as not believe them. There were no leſs than 30000. whoſe carriage gave ſuſpicion of their being conſcious of the Treaſon. *Patron* had but 4000. *Greeks*, to whom if *Darius* had wholly committed himſelf, that very contempt of his own Subjects had been excuſe ſufficient for the Treaſon which he avoided. Wherefore in this ſtraight he choſe rather to die innocently, than give the leaſt occaſion for the Conſpirators; yet he thus anſwered *Beſſus*, and that very prophetically; *That he had made trial as much of* Alexander's *Juſtice as his Courage*; *That thoſe would be much deceived who hoped for any reward of treaſon from him, who he was ſure would be a ſevere Revenger of treaſon and murther.*

When night came on, the *Perſians*, as the manner of their Country is, put off their Armour, and repaired to the neighbouring Towns for Proviſion; but the *Bactrians*, as *Beſſus* commanded them, ſtood ſtill armed. *Darius* ſtill revolving the Counſel of *Patron*, ſent for *Artabaſus*, and declared the whole matter to him, who immediately gave his Opinion, that he ſhould betake himſelf to the *Græcian* Quarters, and acquaint the *Perſians* with the reaſon of it, which he aſſured him would bring them to his party.

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But *Darius* being doomed inevitably to this misfortune, and not able to distinguish, or make use of any good Advice; embraced *Artabasus*, who had advised him the best way in that condition, and dissolving almost into Tears, as if he had been sensible that he should never see him again, he ordered him at last to be taken away, being both wet with each others Tears, and covering his Face to hide his weakness, fell flat upon the ground.

The Esquires of his Body seeing this, and fearing they should not be able to encounter those whom they thought to be coming to murther him, they deserted him whom to the last moment they ought to have defended. There was then a deep silence and solitariness throughout the whole Tent, only a few Eunuchs remaining, and those too because they knew not whither to fly. Those at last he commanded to withdraw, and revolved many things within himself.

At last the very solitude wherein before he seemed delighted, now grew burthensome; so that calling *Bubace*, and looking stedfastly on him,

*Go*, said he, *and since you have been, as in duty bound, loyal to the last, now shift for your selves. Here I expect the manner which the Fates have designed for my death, and if thou wondrest why I do not bravely end my misfortunes my self, know that I had rather my murther should lie on the consciences of other men, than on my own.*

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At this the Eunuch fill'd not the Tent only, but the whole Camp with his lamentation, which brought others, who with torn Garments, and grievous howling, bewailed their unfortunate King. The *Perſians* hearing the noiſe, durſt neither take up Arms, for fear of the *Bactrians*, nor forbear, leſt they ſhould ſeem to deſert their King in his greateſt Extremity.

In a word, divers Reports, divers Cries, fill'd and alarm'd the whole Army. The *Bactrians* told *Beſſus* and *Nabarzanes*, that *Darius* had ſlain himſelf, thinking him dead by the lamentations which were made for him. They ſtraight took Horſe, with thoſe whom they deſigned to be the actors of the bloody Tragedy, and entring the Pavilion, they commanded the Eunuchs that affirmed the King to be alive, to be bound Hand and Foot.

Then was that glorious Monarch, who a little before was honour'd almoſt with Divine Honours by his Subjects, by the ſame Subjects, without any forreign Enemy, was laid in a dirty Cart, covered with raw Hides, like the meaneſt Captive. His Treaſure and Houſholdſtuff was ſeized on as Plunder, with which, though got by the greateſt Villany, they loaded themſelves, and fled. *Artabaſus*, with the *Græcians*, and as many more as would own his Command, repair'd to *Parthiene*, looking upon all Places more ſecure from *Alexander*, by the Rebels Forces, than before. The *Perſians* being deſtitute of a General, and having many large Promiſes from

from *Bessus*, followed the *Bactrians*, and overtook them the Third Day, and joyned with them.

That Fortune might compleat the sport, she designed to make *Darius* the Subject of; *Darius*, as a Royal Slave, was bound with Chains of Gold, though at the same time, that he might not be discovered, they threw Hides over the Cart, and caused it to be driven by strangers, the Guards following at a distance, lest by inquiry of the Souldiers, their Treason should be detected by the Countrey which they passed through.

While things were thus carried on, *Alexander*, hearing that *Darius* was gone from *Ecbatana*, changed his Journey into *Media*, and resolved to pursue him with all expedition.

When he came to *Tabas*, a City in the border of *Parætacene*, some Runagates informed him that *Darius* was fled into *Bactra* in great haste. Soon after he was told by *Bagystbenes*, a *Babylonian*, That the King was certainly betray'd, or at least, in great danger of his life: Wherefore calling a Council of War, he spake to this effect;

*All that we have fought for, and undergone so much labour, is now easie to be effected without much pains.* Darius, *I mean, is not far off, deserted of his Soldiers, and not so only, but either bound or slain: His body is the Trophy I desire, and that the encouragement of our Expedition.*

They unanimously desired him to spare no labour nor danger, promising to follow him through all. So that he began a March, or rather, a Race, and that too so resolutely, that the Souldiers did not take any Rest in the Night for their travel by Day.

In this manner he travelled Five Hundred Furlongs, and came to the City where *Bessus* took *Darius*, where he found *Belon*, *Darius*'s Interpreter, who was very sick, and not able to follow the Army; wherefore he feigned himself fled to *Alexander*, when he saw himself overtaken by him. Of him he understood the whole business; but some rest he was of necessity forced to grant; wherefore, chusing Six Thousand Horse, Three Hundred of which are call'd *Dimachæ* [the same as our Dragoons], who rode indeed on Horses, and carried their Weapons on their Backs, but, upon occasion, could fight on Foot, he designed to pursue still.

But while he was preparing, came to him *Orsyllos*, and *Mythracenes*, who abhorring *Bessus* and his Treason, had left him; they offered their Service to conduct him a nigher way to the Traitors, who were Five Hundred Furlongs off. Their coming was advantageous to him; for about Evening, with a choice Detachment of Horse, and these for his Guides, he set out, commanding his *Phalanx* to hasten after him.

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He put his Army into a ſquare form, contriving ſo that the laſt Ranks might joyn the firſt.

When they had travelled three hundred Furlongs, they met *Brocubelus*, *Mazæus*'s Son, who had been Governour of *Syria*: He alſo aſſured him, that *Beſſus* was not above two hundred Furlongs off, and that his Army, as apprehending no danger, was quite out of order; that they ſeemed to go towards *Hircania*, but if he haſted, he might certainly come upon them unawares. He affirmed *Darius* to be alive, which news ſo fired *Alexander*, that as before he purſued very eagerly, ſo now he clapt Spurs to his Horſe, his men following as faſt.

At laſt they heard the noiſe, but for the duſt they could not ſee the Enemies; therefore he ſtopt, and halted a while, till the duſt was laid, and then was plainly ſeen, and as plainly ſaw the *Barbarian* Forces, which had *Beſſus* been as bold a Commander as he was a Traitor, he had never been able to encounter; For the *Barbarians* excelled both in ſtrength and number, being freſh, and to engage with a weary Enemy. But the terror of *Alexander* proved of ſo great moment, that they fled.

*Beſſus*, and the reſt of his Aſſociates, followed *Darius*, and encouraged him to mount a Horſe, and fly from *Alexander*. But he told them, that now Revenge was near, and that he would rather fall into the

hands of the Conquerour, than accompany baſe Traitors in a baſer flight.

This ſo enraged them, that they wounded him with Darts in many places of his body, having firſt wounded the Horſes, that they ſhould not be able to carry him far, and ſlain his two Attendants, and in this condition they left their Royal Lord and Maſter.

After this Villany they fled divers ways, *Nabarzanes* to *Hircania*, *Beſſus* to *Bactra*; and the Souldiers deſtitute of Commanders, whither each ones Hopes or Fears carried him. There remained yet Five Hundred Horſe in a body, who were uncertain, whether they ſhould rally again, or fly outright.

*Alexander* perceiving their fear of Cruelty, ſent *Nicanor* to ſtop their flight. Of thoſe who reſiſted 3000. were ſlain, the reſt they drove like ſheep, but were commanded to abſtain from killing them. Not one of the Captives could tell which way *Darius* fled, and though all ſought, yet not the leaſt ſign of his flight could be found. *Alexander* made ſuch haſte, that ſcarce 3000. Horſe kept pace with him; but thoſe who fled of the Enemy fell into the hands of them that followed him; and what is ſcarce credible, the number of Priſoners far exceeded that of thoſe who took them; ſo much did their Cowardiſe prevail upon their Senſes, that they were neither ſenſible of their own number, nor that of their Enemies, which was far below it.

In

In the mean time, the Beasts that drew *Darius*, being without any one to guide them, wandred out of the way about Four Furlongs, and in a Valley, they began to faint, partly through toil, and partly for want of blood.

Not far from this Valley was a Spring, to which *Polystratus*, a *Macedonian*, who was exceeding thirsty, was directed by one of that Countrey. And whilst he was drinking out of his Helmet, he espied the Darts which stuck in the Body of the Oxen: His Curiosity presently drew him to see the reason why they were not rather taken for a Prey, than so wounded, where in the nasty Carriage, he found a man in the same condition, whom when he more narrowly look't upon, he knew to be *Darius*.

He had receiv'd indeed many Wounds, but yet had some life left in him, so much, that when *Polystratus* brought a Captive to him, to speak in his own Language, he thus spake faintly,

*This one comfort I have yet*, said he, *in the end of my misfortunes, that I speak to one who understands me, and that I speak not my last words in vain. And tell* Alexander, continued he, *that though personally I never received any Obligation from him, yet I die much indebted to him: give him thanks for his kindnesses so often conferred on my Mother, my Wife and Children; kindnesses which spared not their life only, but fortunes, and continually paid to them him-*

*himſelf, and commanded all to do ſo, all the reverence and eſteem which they could challenge in their moſt proſperous condition; ſuch kindneſſes as I could not obtain from my own Countrymen, my own Subjects, though I have formerly been ſo merciful towards them. Tell him, I wiſh that as he is my Conquerour, he may enjoy the conqueſt of the whole World. Intreat him to revenge my death, who am ſlain by baſe Traitors, and not for my ſake only, but his own, and for the terror of all Conſpirators for the future.*

When he had thus ſpoken, he began to faint, and call'd for Water, which when he had drank, he thus ſpoke to *Polyſtratus*, who brought it:

*Whoever thou art that thus pitieſt my Condition, know that this is my laſt, and not the leaſt of my Misfortunes, that I am not able to expreſs the thanks it deſerves. But for this may* Alexander *reward you, and himſelf be rewarded from above, for his tenderneſs ſhowed to what I prized above my ſelf, for which I here offer you my hand, the only pledge a dying Prince can leave him.*

At his laſt words he graſped *Polyſtratus* his hand, and died immediately.

When the particulars were related to *Alexander*, he came to view the body, and with tears bewail'd the unfortunate End of ſo great a Potentate, and with his own Cloak

Cloak covered the body, then causing it to be embalmed, as became a King, he sent it to his Mother *Sisygambis*, to be interred in the Royal Sepulchre, and after the manner of their Country.

*The End of the Fifth Book.*

THE

THE *Sixth Book begins with the Description of a Battle betwixt* Antipater, Alexander's *Vice-Roy in* Macedon, *and* Agis, *King of the* Lacedæmonians.

# The Sixth Book.

HE ſoon varied the Fortune of the Battel, and ſlaying the forwardeſt of the Enemies, gave the others a fair caution to retire, ſo that the Conquerours were forc't to fly; in which flight, not a few were kill'd, till they had brought the eager Purſuers into a Champain. But as ſoon as ever they had got a place where they might conveniently ſtand, the Victory once more began to waver; during which, the *Lacedæmonian* King ſignaliz'd his Valour to Admiration; nor did his rich Armour, or goodly Perſonage, render him more remarkable, than his Courage: this indeed alone made him Invincible, ſometimes defending himſelf from the Enemies Darts and Arrows, ſometimes fighting hand to hand, a multitude of Arrows he kept off with his Shield, and many Wounds he avoided by the Agility of his Body; till at laſt being ſtruck through the Thigh with a Spear, and looſing a great quantity of Blood, his ſtrength began to fail, and his Guards laying him on his Buckler, hurried him back to his Tent. But ſtill the *Lacedæmonians* left not the Battel, but as ſoon as poſſibly they could get the advantage of the ground, cloſing their Ranks, they Manfully ſuſtain'd the ſhock of the Enemy. Never was there heard of a ſharper Fight, the two Nobleſt Nations in the World contending, one to keep up their ancient Reputation, the other to anſwer

the opinion they had of late gain'd by their A chievements; one fought for liberty, the oth for Empire. The *Lacedæmonians* wanted the En couragement of a General, the *Macedonians* th convenience of an advantageous ground, and th variety of the Fortune in Battel, which had th day been ſo often and ſo amply demonſtrate held the hopes and fears of both Parties in ſu pence; ſo that it ſeem'd as if Fortune had mind to ſport her ſelf with ſo bloody a diver on. The place therefore where they Fou being ſo narrow, more Souldiers ſtood for lac ers on, than were engag'd in the Battel; w notwithſtanding thoſe that could not come t Fight themſelves, with loud Shouts and Acc mations, endeavour'd to raiſe the Courages o their Companions. At laſt the *Lacedæmon* Army began to faint, their Weapons with to and ſweat were grown ſo ſlippery they cou ſcarce hold them in their hands, and firſt givi ground, they at laſt fairly ran away. The Co querors purſued hard after them, and going ove all the ground the *Lacedæmonians* before ha taken up, they came to *Agis* his Pavilion, F ſeeing his Souldiers fly, and the Forerunners o the Enemies Army very nigh, Commanded thoſe that carried him to ſet him down, and t firing to try, if the ſtrength of his Body anſwe the Courage of his Mind; He found it defic ent; then ſinking on his Knees, he Claſps h Helmet, guarded himſelf with his Shield, an brandiſhing his Spear, challeng'd the Enemies t come and ſtrip him of his Armour. But no on dar'd to fight him hand to hand, but at a di ſtance threw their Javelins at him, which h often retorted, till at laſt he was ſtruck through

the naked Breast with a Spear; which pulling out, he cover'd his bending and fainting Head for sometime under his Buckler; at last his Life and Blood forsaking him, he sunk down dead upon his Armour. 1350 *Lacedæmonians* were slain in this Battel; and of the *Macedonians* but 1000. yet were they almost all Wounded. This War pull'd down not only the Courages of the *Spartans*, and their Associates, but disheartned all others that heard of their bad success. Nor was *Antipater* ignorant, how little their Hearts did correspond to their joyful Countenances; but yet being desirous to make an end of the War, he thought it most advantageous to seem deceiv'd; and though the favourable success of affairs could not but please him, yet he was not a little suspicious of danger, being conscious to himself, that his actions carried in them something too great, for the inferiour Command of a Prefect; and though *Alexander* lov'd to have his Enemies subdued, yet he was extream jealous, least any one should share with him in the glory of Conquering; or that *Antipater* should get any reputation by the action; for if any Body else began to grow Illustrious, he thought himself suffer'd an Eclipse: *Antipater* therefore who was well acquainted with his humour, cautiously declin'd to meddle with the Victory himself, or make use of it at his own pleasure, but consulted the *Græcians* what they were desirous to have done, amongst whom the *Lacedæmonians* desir'd nothing, but to let them send Embassadors to the King, which doing, all but the Authors of the Revolt, obtain'd an easie Pardon. But the *Megalopolitans*, whose City was first Besieg'd for Revolting, were Commanded to pay

the *Ætolians* and *Achæans* 1520 Talents. This was the ſucceſs of that War which broke out on a ſudden, and was ended before *Alexander* overthrew *Darius*, at *Arbela*.

But as ſoon as ever he was free from Buſineſs, (for he was always more Invincible in War than Peace) he abandon'd himſelf to all manner of Pleaſures. The Vices of the *Perſians*, became more Victorious than their Arms. He us'd immoderate Banquetting, and took ſtrange delight in ſitting up, and carouſing all Night long. He kept whole Troops of Concubines, thinking outlandiſh Faſhions far more exquiſite than his own; which was ſo offenſive to the *Macedonians*, that moſt of his Friends began to hate him, for he conſtrain'd them who us'd to live hardily, and never pamper themſelves up with Luxury, to be conformable to the humours of their Effeminate Vaſſals: This was the cauſe of various Plots againſt him, and of open Revolts, this was the original of many open Complaints againſt him, all theſe were encreas'd by his Rage and Jealouſie. When therefore he had waſted day and night in debauches, and his Appetite was glutted, he uſually diverted himſelf with Plays. Not content with the Company of *Grecian* Actors, he made his Captive Women ſing odd ſort of Tunes, after their Country manner; but not at all Harmonious to the Ears of thoſe who were of a different Nation. Amongſt which the King caſt his Eye upon a Lady of a more dejected Countenance than any of the reſt, who modeſtly ſtrove with them that would have led her forth. Her Beauty in it ſelf was Excellent, and that Excellence was much augmented by her Modeſty, her down-caſt look, and her Face, which

ſhe

ſhe cover'd as much as ſhe could, made the King fancy ſhe was a Perſonage too great to be exhibited upon ſuch occaſions. Therefore asking her who ſhe was, ſhe anſwer'd, ſhe was Grandchild to *Ochus*, who had lately been King of *Perſia*, being his Sons Daughter, and that ſhe was Married to *Hyſtaſpes*; this *Hyſtaſpes* was nearly related to *Darius*, and had been General of his Army. There ſtill remain'd in the Kings Mind, ſome ſmall Relicks of his former Generoſity, therefore out of honour to her Nobility, and reſpect for ſo great a Perſon, he not only Commanded to ſet her free, but reſtore her her Eſtate, and look out her Husband, leaſt any thing ſhould be wanting to make her Fortune Compleat. The next day he Commanded *Hephæſtion* to bring the Captives into his Palace, where being inform'd of their Deſcent, he diſtinguiſht the Nobility from the vulgar. They were about a thouſand in number, amongſt whom he found *Oxatres*, *Darius* his Brother, not ſo remarkable for his high Birth, as his Parts. Their laſt Booty yielded 26000 Talents, at which *Alexander* divided 1200 amongſt the Souldiers; a ſumm not inferiour to this was deceitfully made away, by the fraud of the Officers who were employ'd in the Collection. *Oxydates* was a noble *Perſian*, that had been Condemn'd by *Darius*, whom *Alexander* ſetting at liberty, made him Governour over *Satrapia* in *Media*. As for *Darius* his Brother, he made him one of his Friends, preſerving the reſpect due to his Nobility; a little while afterwards they remov'd into *Parthiene*, a place at that time of ſmall reputation, but now the moſt famous of all on that ſide *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, as far as the red Sea. They planted

themſelves in a Region of *Scythia*, Fertile and full of Champaine, the Inhabitants to this day are formidable. Thoſe who live above the *Boſphorus*, are reckon'd amongſt the *Aſiaticks*, but they who are *Europæans*, inhabit in a ſtrait line from the other ſide of *Thrace* to the *Boriſthenes*, and ſo down to *Tanais*. *Tanais* parts *Europe* and *Aſia*, and it is certain, that the *Scythians* who founded the *Parthians*, made not an Incurſion from the *Boſphorus*, but paſt over from *Europe*. At that time there was a flouriſhing City called *Hecatompilus*, founded by the *Græcians*, there the King Encamped, bringing with him all his Carriages. Thereupon an uncertain Rumour ſpread from Man to Man, in the Army, that the King being content with his Atchievements, and the Glory he had already gain'd, was reſolv'd to return into *Macedon*: This news made them run up and down like Madmen about their Tents, and fit up their Knapſacks, in expectation when they ſhould march. The whole Camp was in a diſturbance, ſome were calling to their Comrades, and others loading the Carriages, ſo that the noiſe reacht at laſt the Kings Ear. The occaſion of this Report, which was ſo ſuddenly noiſ'd, was *Alexanders* diſmiſſing the *Græcian* Souldiers, on every one of whom he had beſtow'd 6000 *Deniers* as a Largeſs, upon this ſcore they credulouſly ſuppos'd, that they too ſhould be diſmiſt from the trouble of the War. *Alexander* could not chuſe but be amaz'd at ſo unexpected an accident, who had deſign'd to travel over the *Indies*, and the fartheſt parts of the *Eaſt*. He ſummons the chief Officers into his Tent, and burſting out into Tears, he complain'd his Glory was Clouded e're it came to half its full Luſtre; and

that

that if he returns home, he ſhall look upon himſelf rather like one that is defeated, than a Conqueror. Yet that he could not ſo much blame his Souldiers, as the Gods who had daunted the noble temper of their Souls, with a timerous deſire of returning home; when if they would ſtay a little longer, they might return with infinite more Credit and Reputation. Having ſaid this, they all promis'd their utmoſt diligence to perform his Commands, however difficult they might ſeem, withal telling him, a gentle and well-tim'd Oration, would very much prevail on the minds of the Souldiers, and that it was impoſſible their Courages ſhould grow dull and remiſs, when they had the incitement of ſo glorious an Example as himſelf; *Alexander* ſayes he'll take their Councel, and bids them render the Auditory attentive, all things being in readineſs, he ſpoke to the Souldiers an Oration much to this purpoſe.

*When you contemplate,* Souldiers, *the bravery of the actions we have perform'd, it does not at all ſeem wonderful, that you ſhould deſire eaſe, ſatisfied perhaps with the glory of your Victories: I ſhall not mention the* Illyrians, *the* Triballi, Bœotia, Thrace, Sparta, Achaia, *and* Peleponneſus, *of which Places and people, under my Conduct, and by the favourable ſucceſs of War, we are Poſſeſſors. How we began a War at the* Helleſpont *and* Ionia, *and redeem'd* Æolia *from the* Barbarian *Yoke. We have reduc'd, under our Government,* Caria, Lydia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Pamphilia, Pyſidia, Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia *and* Armenia, Perſis, *the* Medes *and* Parthiene. *I have ſubdued more Provinces than other Captains have taken Cities; and I am apt to believe, they are ſo many, that their mul-*

titude has made me miſtake, by leaving ſome out in the recital. If I could therefore aſſure my ſelf, that we could ſafely poſſeſs what we have with ſo great hazard and expedition Conquer'd, I, Souldiers, as well as you, am not inſenſible of pleaſure, but would, though againſt your wills, go home to my Palace, revisit my Mother, Friends and Acquaintance; that there with them, we might enjoy the Peace we have purchas'd with our Blood; there the nobleſt rewards of our Services are likely to be met with, as Peace, Content, and all things which may render our Lives pleaſant and acceptable. But now in a Government we have but newly attain'd by Conqueſt, and are forc't to ſupport by all the ſoft endearments of a gentle Yoke, which the Barbarians do, as yet, with little willingneſs diſpence with, there ſeems to be time as well as force requiſite, that we may ſoften their rigid natures with our cuſtomary gentleneſs, and affability. We ſee even the Fruits of the Earth require time to ripen in; ſo that things which have no ſence muſt be waited on ere they become ſerviceable. We are not a little miſtaken, if we flatter our ſelves, that ſo many Nations, who are us'd to obey other Monarchs, of a contrary Religion, rul'd by other Laws, not ſo much as uſing the ſame Language, can with as great eaſe be reduc'd and made conformable in all theſe, as they were at firſt vanquiſht by the chance of War. They are obedient now, not out of willingneſs but fear; they dread you now you are here, but turn your backs, and you'll ſoon be ſenſible of their Revolt. We have to deal with a kind of Wild Beaſts, who muſt be kept up till they are tam'd, and not to be done on a ſudden. Nabarzanes has ſeis'd on Hyrcania, Beſſus has not only ſeis'd on Bactria, but begins to threaten the Sogdians, the Dahæ and Meſſagetes, Sacæ and Indians do all what they liſt: if they ſhould find us turn

turn our backs, we ſhould ſoon have them upon us. For ſince we are but Strangers to them, and of a different Nation, 'tis but natural, they ſhould be more inclineable to obey thoſe of their own Country; if they are any ways fit for to govern. In ſhort, either we muſt looſe what we have got, or get what we have not: As Phyſicians deal with their Patients, and leave nothing to cauſe a relapſe, ſo we muſt alſo cut down whatever ſeems to level its aim at our glory. A little contemptible ſpark, if let alone, may prove a dangerous Fire. 'Tis by no means ſafe to contemn an Enemy, if he is weak, your neglect makes him ſtronger. Darius himſelf came not to the Empire by lineal deſcent, but by the means of Bagoas the Eunuch, was advanc'd to Cyrus his Throne. I would not have you ſuppoſe, that Beſſus has taken all this pains to ſeize an empty ſort of a Kingdom, who acting the heighth of villany, fetter'd his Soveraign, his Soveraign reduc'd to neceſſity, his Soveraign that had need of his help, his Soveraign, whom we that were his Enemies ſpar'd, and at laſt, leaſt we might be induc'd, by our goodneſs, to preſerve him, rob'd our Clemency of that honour, by deſtroying him. And will you ſuffer him to ſit on the Throne, whom with far greater Juſtice and Equity, we ſhould advance on a Gibbet? no, let us by the juſt puniſhment of ſo vile a Malefactor, make him do more good at his Death, than e're he did in his Life. Suppoſe we ſhould hear that this Villain is depopulating the Græcian Cities, and Foraging at the Helleſpont, I believe none of us but would be very impatient at ſuch a report. Shall it be ſpread about, that Beſſus reaps the Harveſt of your Victories? ſhould you hear this, you would then perhaps be ready to renew your diligence, then you'd run to take up thoſe Arms which now you are ſo willing to lay down. But how much greater Prudence will it manifeſt to

deſtroy

*destroy him now whilst he is in fear, and has not his Wits about him; can a four days Journey seem to be tedious to us, who have travail'd so hardily, over such prodigious quantities of Snow, who have swam over such Rivers, clim'd so high and dangerous Mountains. Here is no tempestuous Sea, with the fury of its Surges to obstruct your Journey, there are no such straits as those of* Cilicia *to hinder our passage, we march all the way over a Champain, we stand as it were on the brink of Victory. Is it such a terrible piece of business to dispatch a few Fugitives, and such whose baseness is sufficiently manifest, by the barbarous Murther of their Monarch? Though your valour will not be much signaliz'd in an action where the Victory is to be gain'd so easily, yet you may transmit a glorious Pattern of your Justice to future Ages, and show Posterity, which will sufficiently be acquainted with your love of Virtue, the hatred you have of Vice. By this you will show your selves the noblest sort of Enemies, when your enmity with* Darius *ends with his Life, and gain the love of the* Persians, *when they shall hear how noble an Enterprize you made the subject of your Courages.*

This Oration was receiv'd with the Universal Applause and Acclamations of the whole Army, with one Consent, entreating him to lead them whithersoever he would. The King took advantage of their forwardness, and on the third day, passing by *Parthiene*, he arrived at the Borders of *Hyrcania*, leaving *Craterus* behind with those Forces he Commanded, and adding 600 Horse out of the Regiments which were lead by *Amyntas*, with as many Archers, that he might defend *Parthiene* from the Incursions of the *Barbarians*. He Commands the Waggons to be lead through the Champaign, with a small Retinue

tinue

time to guard them. He with the *Phalanx* and Horſe, travelling 150 Furlongs, fortified his Camp in the Plain hard by *Hyrcania*. The Wood with thick and lofty Trees yields a very delightful ſhade, and the fertile Earth is water'd with Rivulets flowing from all parts of the Neighbouring Rocks. The River *Zioberes* Iſſues from the foot of a Mountain, and runs almoſt three Furlongs in length in one ſtream, but then being hindred by a Rock which cuts the Water, it divides it ſelf into two Parts, and then a little further ſinks under the Earth with a great noiſe caus'd by the ruggedneſs of the Stones through which it paſſes; it runs under-ground 300 Furlongs, and then again breaks forth a freſh, as if there it had its Fountain, ſending forth a new ſtream, and far broader than the former, for it is there 13 Furlongs in breadth, and ſo grows narrower by degrees, till at length it fall into another River call'd *Rhidagus*. The Inhabitants affirm, that whatever is let fall into the Cavern at the firſt Fountain, will come up again at the ſecond; upon this occaſion, *Alexander* Commanded two Oxen to be thrown in at the firſt, whoſe Bodies were accordingly ſeen, by thoſe he had ſent, to aſcend at the ſecond, driven out by the Violence of the ſtream. The fourth day he let the Souldiers reſt, when he receiv'd Letters from *Nabarzanes*, who left *Darius* when *Beſſus* did; the ſence of which ran thus.

*That he had never been an Enemy to* Darius, *but counſell'd him the beſt he could, and becauſe he told him the plain truth, had like to have loſt his Life. That* Darius *had againſt Right and Juſtice, intruſted Strangers to be his Guard, as if he was afraid to repoſe any confidence in thoſe of his own Nation, who for*

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*230 Years had signaliz'd their Fidelity; that he was in a doubtful case, and must consult his own advantage. This was the excuse* Darius *had for killing* Bagoas, *that he found him Plotting: that nothing is more sweet to miserable Mortals than Life, for which they are often content to undergo great Extremities, and that things fell out more unluckily than he wisht for, but in a common Calamity, every Body must expect to bear a share; that if he was pleas'd to Command him to wait on him, he would undauntedly come; for he did not in the least fear, that so Illustrious a Person would be worse than his word; that Deities never deceiv'd one another; but that if he thought him unworthy of his favour, there were many places that he could fly to. A brave Man never fears to want Entertainment wherever he goes.*

*Alexander* made not the least demur to promise him his good will upon his yielding himself to his Mercy, yet he still marcht in a square Battel, the Scouts busily exploding the way. The light arm'd Souldiers marcht first, the *Phalanx* follow'd them, after the Foot went the Carriages: the Warlike nature of the People, and the strength of the Places, render'd the King more Vigilant, for one continual Valley spreads it self as far as the *Caspian* Sea. It has two Promontories, like Arms stretcht out far into the Sea, betwixt which lies a Haven much resembling the Appearance of a Crescent, the *Cercetæ*, *Mossyni*, and *Chalybes*, lye on the left hand, on the other side the *Lycosuri*, and the Fields of the *Amazons*; the former part looks towards the North, the latter towards the East. The *Caspian* Sea is of a more pleasant Water than any other, it breeds Serpents of a most prodigious Bulk, and the colour of the Fish agrees not with those in other

places;

places; ſome call it the *Caſpian*, ſome *Hyrcanian* Sea; ſome think the Lake *Meotis* falls into it, and argue, that if the Lake did not fall into it, how is it that the Water is ſweeter than that in other Seas. Towards the North the Sea beats very hard on the ſhore, and overflows a great way, but at low Water, it leaves a kind of Marſh behind it; by its often ebbing and flowing, it ſteals much away from the main Land. Others are of the opinion, that the *Caſpian* Sea is no Sea at all, but that it runs out of *India* into *Hyrcania*, which as we obſerv'd before lies in a Valley. The King from this place travel'd 20 Furlongs, through a very difficult paſſage; a Wood hung over his Head, and Torrents and Marſhy places were great obſtacles to his ſpeed; yet beſides them, he met no Enemy to hinder his paſſage, ſo that at laſt he quite overcome all the difficulties of the Journey. Beſides other Commodities the Land was plentifully furniſhed withal, there is great ſtore of Apples, and the Soil is very fruitful in yielding Grapes; there is great quantity of Trees which look very like the Oak, whoſe Leaves drop Honey, which unleſs the Inhabitants gather before Sun-riſing, it dries up. He had ſcarce travel'd above 30 Furlongs, when he was met by *Phrataphernes*, who ſurrender'd himſelf, and all thoſe under his Command, who had ſcapt away, after the Death of *Darius*, to *Alexander*'s Mercy, and being graciouſly receiv'd, they came to the Town *Arvas*. Here he met with *Craterus* and *Erigonus*, who brought with them *Phradates*, Governour of the *Tapuri*; he too being kindly entertain'd, made others follow his Example, ſubmitting themſelves to the Kings Clemency. He conſtituted

*Menapis*,

*Menapis*, Governour of *Hircania*, who fled to *Philip* in the Reign of *Ochus*, and made the Country of the *Tapuri* ſubject to *Phradates*.

The King was now come to the fartheſt part of *Hircania*, when *Artabazus*, whom we before have took notice of for his Fidelity to *Darius*, with his Children and ſome others nearly related to *Darius*, and a ſmall Band of Souldiers, met him; the King gave him his hand, for he had been familiarly entertain'd at King *Philips* Court, when he was baniſht by *Ochus*, but his Loyalty pleaded moſt Merits to *Alexanders* Favour, and was therefore entertain'd with great reſpect and kindneſs. *I wiſh thee*, ſaid the King, *long flouriſhing happineſs*. I have only this allay to my pleaſure, that thy Old Age will rob me of a long enjoyment of thy Company, for he was 95 years old. *Artabazus* had nine Sons all born of one Mother, theſe he preſented to the King, praying that they might only live long enough to be ſerviceable to *Alexander*. The King uſually travel'd on foot, but then call'd for Horſes, leaſt the old Man ſhould be aſham'd to ride when *Alexander* walkt on foot. As ſoon as they were Encampt, he Commanded them to call the *Grecians*, *Artabazus* had brought along with him, but they return Anſwer, that unleſs he receive the *Lacedemonians* to favour, they muſt make bold to conſult what they muſt do. The *Lacedemonians* had ſent Embaſſadors to *Darius*, after whoſe overthrow they apply'd themſelves to the *Grecians*, whom the *Perſians* had hir'd. The King making no Promiſes, Commanded them to come and ſubmit to his determinations. After a long Debate they reſolv'd to come. But *Democrates* the *Athenian*, who had always been a great Enemy

my of the *Macedonians*, deſpairing of Pardon, kill'd himſelf. The others, as they had agreed, ſurrendred themſelves to *Alexander*, 1500 in all, beſides 90 Embaſſadours which were ſent to *Darius*. He employ'd ſome of them to fill up Troops, others he ſent home. As for the *Lacedemonians*, he kept them Priſoners. There was a people call'd *Mardi*, living hard by the Confines of *Hircania*, a hardy ſort of Nation, and living much by Robbery, who had neither ſent Embaſſadors, nor ſeem'd at all enclin'd to Capitulation. The King therefore being enrag'd, that one People ſhould put a ſtop to his Conqueſts, leaving a Guard with the Carriages, with a ſtrong Force, Journeying by Night, at Day-break came in ſight of the Enemy; it rather ſeem'd a tumult than a Battel, for the *Barbarians* being forcibly beat down from their Hills, ran away, and the Streets ſoon enter'd, being deſerted by the Inhabitants; to travel further they could not without a great deal of trouble and difficulty; the height of the Mountains, thickneſs of the Woods, and inacceſſible Rocks, ſerving as a defenſive Retreat. The *Barbarians* had guarded the Champain with an odd ſort of Fortification, planting Trees very thick together, which whilſt they are young, they bend and thruſt the upper end into the Earth, whence new Trees ſoon ſprout forth, then making Caverns with theſe knots and foldings, when they are cover'd with Leaves, they ſafely run underneath them, dodging and deceiving the purſuers. There was but one way left to open their paſſage, by cutting down ſome of the Wood, and that too was a piece of great difficulty, for the tender Twigs which were wreath'd in rings round the Trees, ſoften'd the ſtroke of

the

the Axe very much. Beſides, the Enemy that was well acquainted with the Faſtneſſes, gall'd them very much with ſhocks of Arrows from their lurking holes; at laſt playing the Hunters rather than Souldiers, they deſtroy'd moſt of the Savage Inhabitants in their Dens; at laſt, he Commands his Souldiers to ſeek all about, if they could find an Entrance where they might break in. Some few of *Alexanders* Party were taken, amongſt whom was the Kings Horſe *Bucephalus*, whom *Alexander* thought no ordinary ſort of a Creature, for he would endure no other but the King ſhould mount him, but when he came, as if he underſtood whoſe he was, he willingly kneel'd down on his Knees to receive him. The King therefore being in an extraordinary Paſſion, bids them look out for his Horſe, and Proclaim, by an Interpreter, that unleſs they reſtor'd him, he would not leave a Man alive; they being terrified with this Proclamation, reſtor'd all the Booty and the Horſe. He being not throughly ſatisfied, Commands them to cut down the Wood, and make it a riſing ground, by filling it up with Earth fetcht from the Mountains; the work had gone ſome ſmall height, when the *Barbarians* deſpairing to hold out, ſurrendred themſelves. The King receiving Sureties, Commanded them to be deliver'd to *Phradates*, and five days after return'd to his Camp, and ſent back *Artabazus* home with double the honours he had ever receiv'd of *Darius*; and now they approach near the City of *Hyrcania*, in which there was the Palace of *Darius*. There *Nabarzanes* having receiv'd pardon, met him, bringing large Gifts, amongſt which was *Bagoas*, a moſt Beautiful Eunuch, and in the flower of his Youth, whom

whom *Darius* firſt, and afterwards *Alexander*, was extreamly delighted with; for whoſe ſake chiefly he pardon'd *Nabarzanes*. There was, as I obſerv'd before, hard by *Hyrcania*, a Nation call'd the *Amazons*, living very nigh the River *Thermodoon*, in the Fields of *Themiſcyra*, their Queens Name was *Thaleſtris*, governing all between the Mountain *Caucaſus*, and the River *Phaſis*; ſhe out of a deſire to ſee *Alexander*, left her Kingdom, and when ſhe was no great diſtance off, ſhe ſent Meſſengers to tell him, there was a Queen came to viſit him, and deſiring to be ſomething more intimate: as ſoon as ever ſhe had leave granted, leaving her Train behind, ſhe came forward with Three Hundred Ladies, and when ſhe came within ſight of the King, ſhe alighted, bearing two Lances in her hand. They do not wear Cloaths over all parts, for on the left ſide they go naked down to the Breaſt, and preſerve one Breaſt with which they nouriſh their Females. The right Breaſt is burnt off, that they may with the greater facility, ſhoot Arrows, or throw Darts. With a bold Countenance *Thaleſtris* looked upon *Alexander*, meaſuring him by the gaiety of his Attire, more than by the luſtre of his Actions; for the *Barbarians* have a peculiar eſteem for handſome Perſonages, inſomuch that their opinion is, that no other are fit for great Atchievements, but ſuch as nature ſeems to mark out by the neat frame, and exact ſymmetry of proportion; and being demanded what was her requeſt, ſhe was not aſham'd to tell him, ſhe come to be got with Child, and that ſhe was not unworthy to be gratified after that manner; that if it was a Son, ſhe would reſtore it to the Father, if a Girl ſhe'd keep it her ſelf. *Alexan-*

*der* askt her, if she pleas'd to go along with him to the Wars, she excus'd her self saying, She had left her Kingdom unsetled, and desir'd him not to frustrate her expectation; her desire to be satisfied was more vehement than the Kings, so that thirteen days being consum'd in those Enjoyments, she return'd to her Kingdom, and *Alexander* to *Parthiene*.

Now he began to give the Reins to his Passion, and turn Continence and Moderation the two most illustrious Virtues of prosperity into Pride and Lasciviousness. His own Country Customs, and the well temper'd Discipline of the *Macedonian* Kings, together with their modest garb, were thought to be too much beneath his Grandeur. He chose rather ambitiously to assume the *Persian* Pride, whose Kings thought themselves not inferiour to the Gods. He let his Servants adore him flat on the ground, and with servile superstition debas'd the noble Souls of the *Macedonians*. He usually wore a purple Diadem, interpailed with white, such as *Darius* usually had, and put on a *Persian* Robe, little regarding the ill omen that attends on the Conquerours degenerating into the manners of the Vanquisht, and only glory'd in this, that he wore *Darius* his Spoils, but all the while observ'd not himself infected also with his Effeminacy, nor was the haughtiness of his Mind any thing inferiour to the Pride of his Habit. Those Letters he sent into *Europe*, he seal'd with his own Seal, those into *Asia* with *Darius*'s, to manifest that one Soul was too small for two such great Fortunes. He Cloathed his Friends, and Noblemen, and Chief Commanders, who durst not express their inward Resentments, in the *Persian* Garb

360

360 Concubines he kept in his Palace to equal the number of *Darius*'s, beſides the Eunuchs, who were put to the ſame uſe as Women. The old Souldiers of *Philip*, that had never been acquainted with this Effeminate Luxury, were altogether out of conceit with it, and 'twas the common Proverb over all the Camp, that they had loſt more than they had gain'd by their Conqueſts, that they ſeem'd only vanquiſht who were forc't to ſubmit to Outlandiſh Cuſtoms, that they were likely to return home like Captive *Perſians*, that their King himſelf might be aſham'd who had made his Subjects ſo, who was grown the *Perſian* Courtier from the *Macedonian* Monarch. *Alexander* was not ignorant, how much the chiefeſt of his Friends and Souldiers were offended, and endeavour'd with Largeſſes to redeem their favour; but if I am not miſtaken, Men at liberty care not to ſell it, and leaſt therefore this diſlike ſhould turn into Sedition, the Peace was neceſſarily to be broke off by War. For which an occaſion very opportunely offer'd it ſelf. For *Beſſus* putting on an Imperial Robe, Proclaim'd himſelf King by the name of *Artaxerxes*, and gather'd up the *Scythians*, and the reſt of the Inhabitants that live nigh the River *Tanais*. This news was brought by *Satibarzanes*, whom he Pardoned, and made Governour of the Country he liv'd in, and becauſe his Army was ſo loaden with Spoils and Luxury, it could ſcarce move. He firſt produc'd his own Booties, and then added, that of all the Army, ſaving nothing but ſome few neceſſary things. The Plain, in which the burthen'd Carriages that contain'd them, ſtood, was ſpacious; all ſtood in ſilent expectation of his deſign, when he Commanding all the Horſes

to be unloos'd, firſt fir'd his own, and then the reſt, burning thoſe things which they had before endanger'd their Lives to ſave out of the Ruins of Burning Cities; yet none durſt lament for the loſs of that which coſt them ſo dear, ſeeing the Kings Treaſures were conſum'd in the ſame Flames as their own; afterwards with a ſhort Oration he pacified their Grief, and the Souldiers were contented to looſe their Wealth rather than their Diſcipline; after this they marcht directly towards *Bactria*, but the ſudden Death of *Nicanor*, *Parmenio*'s Son, troubled every Body. The King more ſorrowful than ordinary would have made a halt, and been preſent at the Funeral, but the ſmall number of the Carriages forc't him to make haſt, leaving therefore *Philotas* with 2600 Men to take care of his Brothers Funerals, he with all poſſible ſpeed marcht towards *Beſſus*. In his march he receiv'd Letters from the Borderers on the *Satrapæ*, by which he underſtood *Beſſus* came to meet him as an Enemy, but that *Satibarzanes*, whom he had made Governour of the *Arii* had revolted, therefore though he were nigh *Beſſus*, yet he thought it more convenient to chaſtiſe *Satibarzanes*; therefore taking his Light-arm'd Horſe and Foot, he marcht with great ſpeed all night, and came upon him unawares, whoſe coming being noiz'd, *Satibarzanes* with 2000 Horſe fled to the *Bactrians*. The others climb'd to the tops of Rocks. There was a very nigh Rock, ſteep toward the Weſt end, but bending lower toward the Eaſt, thick ſet with Trees; it has a running ſtream, and great plenty of Water in it, in Circuit 32 Furlongs, on the top whereof is a green Plain: here they made the weaker

multitude

multitude ſet down, and from whence the Rock was eaſieſt of aſcent, they roul'd down great Stones, and Trunks of Trees; there were here 13000. armed Men, to beſiege whom, leaving *Craterus*, he purſues *Satibarzanes*, but perceiving he had fled away too faſt, he returns to the Siege himſelf; but he ſaw the Rocks were ſo impregnable by nature, that it ſeem'd but a vanity to offer at ſuch an attempt. But he being always rather encourag'd than any way daunted with difficulties, ſeeing the ſtrait he was in, how hard it was to go forward, and how dangerous to raiſe the Siege, in vain rackt his Invention, but at laſt light accidentally on an Expedient his imagination could not have furniſht him withal. There was a ſtrong Wind, and the Soldiers attempting the way up the Rock, had cut down much Wood, this had been dry'd by the heat; therefore building up the Trees one upon another, till they equall'd the Rock in height, he ſet them on fire; the Flame rag'd, and the Wind drove it upon the Face of the Enemies; the Smoak, like a thick Cloud, darkning all the Air; the Woods crackled with the heat, and ſoon took fire from the Trees that had been cut down. The *Barbarians* endeavour'd to fly from the fury of the Fire, but they found the Enemy there where the Fire was not, they were therefore variouſly deſtroy'd; ſome threw themſelves into the Fire, ſome down the Rocks, ſome half-burnt were taken Captives. From hence he return'd to *Craterus*, who beſieg'd *Artacacna*; he having all things in readineſs, only waited for *Alexander*'s coming, that he might have the honour of taking the City. *Alexander* commands them to apply their Towers of Wood, which as

ſoon as the *Barbarians* beheld, they holding up their hands, deſir'd the King to ſpare them, and let the fury of his diſpleaſure light upon *Satibarzanes*, who had been the occaſion of all this, and not puniſh thoſe that were Innocent and Suppli-cants. The King pardoning them, did not only raiſe the Siege, but reſtore all he had taken from them. Marching hence, he met a Recruit of new Soldiers. *Zoilus* brought 500. *Græcian* Horſe, *Antipater* ſent 3000. from *Illyria*, *Philip* brought 130. *Theſſalian* Horſe, and out of *Lydia* he brought 2600. Foot, who were follow'd by 300. Horſe of the ſame Nation. With theſe Forces he came to the *Drangæ*, a warlike Nation, of which one *Bazaentes* was Governour, a Fellow-Traitor, and an Acquaintance of *Beſſus*, who for fear of de-ſerv'd puniſhment had fled into *India*.

They had now Encampt about nine dayes, when the King, who was not only ſafe but in-ſuperable, as to the Enemy, was attacqu'd by treaſonable practices in his own Camp. *Dymnus*, a Man little in the Kings Favour, lov'd a Cata-mite call'd *Nicomachus*; being raviſht with his Careſſes, like one out of his Wits, he took the Youth alone into the Temple, telling him, he had ſome ſecret affairs, and of great import-ance to communicate to him, and ſeeing him ſtand a little amaz'd, he begs him, by their mu-tual Love and Kindneſs, that he would take an Oath to keep ſecret whatever he ſhould recom-mend to his truſt. He ſuppoſing it no buſineſs but what might lawfully be conceal'd, ſwears by the Gods. Then *Dymnus* diſcovers, how that within three days they intended to diſpatch the King, and that he had the Honour to be con-cern'd in the Enterpriſe, amongſt many other

Valiant

Valiant and Illuſtrious Perſonages, which the Youth hearing, told him, He had not promis'd to conceal Parricide, and that no Bonds could be ſo great, as to tie him from diſcovering Treaſon. *Dymnus*, diſtracted 'twixt Love and Fear, catching hold of his hand, and embracing it with Tears, entreated him to enter into the Aſſociation; but if he could not do that, he pray'd him not to betray him, who had given this great proof of his Affection to him, amongſt others, that he intruſted him with his Life. At laſt, when he ſaw no perſwaſions would ſerve turn, he threatned him with Death, and that he would make him feel the firſt Effects of his indignation, calling him ſometimes Effeminate, ſometimes Faint-hearted, ſometimes Traytor to his Love, then promiſing great Rewards, not ſticking at the Kingdom; but finding him ſtill averſe to the Treaſon, he held a Dagger, firſt to his Throat, than to his own; at laſt by his Threats and Prayers he prevail'd ſo far, that he conſented, not only to promiſe Concealment, but to promote the Action; but yet he had ſo conſtant a reſolution (and 'twas pitty he was abus'd ſo) that he had not alter'd his mind, but yet diſſembled, as if for *Dymnus* his ſake, he was content to do any thing, and then began to enquire who were his Accomplices, telling him withal, that it was a thing of great importance to underſtand what Perſons were ingag'd in ſo heroical an action. He blinded with much love and wickedneſs thanks him, and hugs his Proſelyte, who was reſolv'd to make one in ſo brave an Enterpriſe with *Demetrius*, one of *Alexanders* Guard, *Peucolaus Nicanor*, adding to theſe *Aphœbetus*, *Loceus*, *Dioxenus*, *Archepolis*, and

*Amyntas*. *Nicomachus* having heard all, goes directly to *Ceballinus*, who was his Brother, and informs him of all he had heard; he adviſes him to ſtay in his Tent, leaſt going to the Kings Quarters, the Conſpirators ſhould ſuſpect themſelves diſcovered. *Ceballinus* ſtood before the Kings Tent-Door, for he might not approach nigher, waiting an opportunity to ſee ſome of the Kings Chief Friends, that might introduce him; as it happen'd, the reſt departing, *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio*, was left alone in the Tent; *Ceballinus* with great Ardor, ſeeming as one much troubled, tells him, all that he had been inform'd of by his Brother, and deſires him with all ſpeed imaginable to tell the King. *Philotas* commending him, ſtrait goes into *Alexander*, and talking a good while about other Affairs, ſpeaks not a word of what he had heard from *Ceballinus*. The young man attended there till about Evening, he met him coming out, and askt him, if he had done what he deſir'd him, but receiv'd Anſwer, the King had not time to hearken to his Information. The next day *Ceballinus* meets him going into the Kings Tent, and deſires him to remember the buſineſs he advertis'd him about the day before; but neither then did he mention one word of it; ſo that *Ceballinus* began to ſuſpect him: therefore not thinking it fit to ask him any more, he diſcover'd it to *Metron*, a noble Youth, who was Maſter of the Armory, he hiding *Ceballinus* in the Armory, diſcovers to the King, who was then dreſſing of himſelf, the Conſpiracy. The King, ſending a Guard to ſeize *Dimnus*, goes into the Armory, "Where *Ceballinus* ſaid to "him, I have thee in ſafety, and preſerv'd thee out "of the hands of thy Enemies. *Alexander* queſtion'd

ſtion'd him about all the chief Points, and then askt, how long it was ſince *Nicomachus* had diſcover'd this to him; and he confeſſing it was the third day, the King ſuſpecting it could not be conceal'd ſo long without Treachery, Commanded him to be bound, but he cry'd out, Enquire of *Philotas*, if I did not inſtantly diſcover it to him. The King askt him, if he had gone to *Philotas*, and deſir'd him to repreſent the Caſe, which he affirm'd, holding his hands to Heaven, and weeping, he cry'd, "Is this the Grati-"tude, the deareſt of my Friends, rewards me "with. In the mean time *Dimnus* gueſſing at the cauſe he was ſent for ſtab'd himſelf deeply with the Sword he wore; being met by the Souldiers, he is brought to the Kings Tent, who fixing his Eyes ſtedfaſtly upon him ſaid, *In what have I ſo much offended thee*, Dimnus, *that ſhould make you judge* Philotas *more worthy to be King of* Macedon *than my ſelf?* But *Dimnus* was now grown Speechleſs, and ſending forth a Groan, he turn'd his Head from the King, and died. The King Commanded *Philotas* to be brought in, ſaying, Ceballinus *who deſerv'd Death for concealing this Crime two days, throws all the guilt upon you; to whom*, he ſays, *he inſtantly diſcover'd it. The nigher you are to my Perſon, your fault in diſſembling, is conſequently ſo much the greater; and this Crime had been more tolerable in* Ceballinus *than* Philotas. *You have therefore a favourable Judge, if you can acquit your ſelf of this Accuſation.* *Philotas* anſwer'd him undauntedly, if the heart might be judg'd on by the Countenance, *That* Ceballinus *indeed had brought a ſtory of a Catamite to him, but that he thought, if he had reveal'd ſuch a thing, he ſhould only have been ridicul'd; but that now at laſt*, Dimnus

nus *his Death had evidenc'd, that whatere it was, it ſhould not have been conceal'd.* Then upon his Knees he beſeecht the King to look on the Integrity of his former Life, and not on the preſent Errour. 'Tis difficult to ſay, whether the King minded what he ſaid, or only diſſembled his Anger, but yet, as if he were nothing diſpleas'd, he reacht out his hand to him, and told him, *He more ſlighted than conceal'd the Evidence.*

Yet notwithſtanding, calling his Friends to Council, amongſt whom *Philotas* was not, He orders *Nicomachus* to be brought in, who relates word for word what he had depos'd. *Craterus* was well belov'd by the King, and hated *Philotas*, becauſe he ſtood in competition with him for dignity; and was not ignorant, that by the brags the other us'd to make of his Valour and Induſtry, he had rendred himſelf leſs acceptable to *Alexander*; and therefore though not ſuſpected of Treaſon, yet he was thought ſufficiently arrogant; *Craterus* thinking this the fitteſt time to ſet upon his Enemy, under pretence of Loyalty.

*I wiſh,* ſaid he, *you had call'd us to Conſultation before now, we ſhould have advis'd you, if you had a mind to pardon* Philotas, *you ſhould rather have kept him ignorant of the danger he was in, than to have him brought in fear of Death, and ſo have made him more mindful of his own danger, than your goodneſs; for he may be in a way continually to offend againſt you, but you not always in a condition to pardon him; nor can I ſee what reaſon you have to flatter your ſelf, that he who dares commit Crimes of ſo deep a die, ſhould be reclaim'd by Pardon. He knows very well, that they who offend, muſt at laſt deſpair of Mercy. But ſuppoſe,*

*poſe, that his Penitence, and your Kindneß, might prevail ſo far, as to make him leave off theſe Practices; yet his Father,* Parmenio, *a Man in ſo great Command, and ſo generally belov'd by the Souldiers, will never but with regret, acknowledge himſelf indebted to you for ſparing his Sons Life. There are ſome kindneſſes which produce Hate inſtead of Gratitude, and it vexes us to acknowledge our deſerts, if we ever deſerv'd ill; and ſuch a ones Life only ſhows, that he prefer'd diſgrace before Death. The open Enemies we have, are not ſo few ſure, but that we may with reaſon guard our ſelves from Traytors at home. Theſe, if you once remove, we ſhall not have occaſion to fear our Enemies abroad.*

Thus *Craterus* ſpoke, nor was there any one that doubted, but that, if *Philotas* had not been the Author, yet at leaſt he had been a great promoter of the Conſpiracy, elſe he would never have huſht it up, and conceal'd it ſo. For who, if he had any Loyalty, or Conſcience, though he were not a Nobleman, but one of the meaner ſort, if he had been inform'd of ſuch a buſineſs, would not have diſcover'd the matter to the King? eſpecially having a Preſident for it in *Ceballinus*, who did as much as lay in him endeavour to lay it open; neither could there be any greater Evidence of *Philotas* his guilt, than that he, *Parmenio's* Son, the Maſter of the Horſe, the Kings great Confident, ſhould pretend, that the King was not at leiſure to hearken to his Diſcourſe. *Nicomachus* out of meer Conſcience, diſcover'd all he knew, but *Philotas* ſporting away the day, could not find leiſure to inſert a few words when the Kings Life was ſo nearly concern'd. But he did not believe the Information,

tion, why then did he put him off for two days, making him wait in expectation, as if he did credit the report. It is uſual, when we are in danger our ſelves, to beſtir our Courages, but when the King is in danger, the leaſt ſurmiſe is to be apprehended. All therefore agree, to force him to confeſs his Accomplices. The King ſends them away, cautioning them to keep all ſecret, bidding them give order for a march the next day, that none might gueſs at his intent. *Alexander* invited *Philotas* to his Table, and was not only content to Sup with, but to uſe familiar Diſcourſe, though he had decreed his Fate. About the ſecond Watch, the Candles being out, *Hepeſtion*, *Craterus*, *Cænus*, and *Erigyus*, with a few more, enter into the Kings Tent; theſe were the Kings Friends; beſides, of the Captains, came *Perdiccas* and *Lepnatus*; by theſe he iſſued out Command, that the Guards ſhould Watch, and the Guards were Commanded to ſtop up all Paſſages, leaſt any one ſhould fly to *Parmenio*, who then had a great Command amongſt the *Medes*. But *Atarras* with 300 armed Men, came unto the Kings Tent, to whom ten of the Kings Guard are order'd, each attended by ten Men at Arms, who were diſtributed to lay hold on the other Conſpirators. *Atarras* being ſent to take *Philotas* with 300 Men, broke open his Door, entring only with ſome of the moſt reſolute, for he had Commanded the reſt to ſurround the Houſe, leaſt he might chance to eſcape; but he, whether through a ſenſe of innocence, or exceſſive care, was found in a deep ſleep, and being wak'd to be Fetter'd, He cry'd out, O Alexander, *the bitterneſs of my Enemies has vanquiſht the natural goodneſs of thy diſpoſition.* He had

had ſcarce ſpoke theſe words, when covering his head, they brought him into the Kings Tent. The next day the King call'd the Souldiers together, about 6000 appear'd, beſides which, the Kings Tent was throng'd by a Company of mean Slaves, that uſually attended on the Souldiers. The Guards ſurrounded *Philotas*, leaſt before the King had ended his Speech, he ſhould be ſeen by the Rabble. For the Army, after the old Cuſtom of the *Macedonians*, were to be Judges in Capital Cauſes in War, and the Commonalty in Peace; nor could the King do any thing, unleſs they before-hand had conſented. Firſt, Therefore he cauſed *Dimnus* his Body to be brought in, very few of them knowing the occaſion of his Death.

The King afterwards came to make his Oration, and in his looks might eaſily be read the ſorrow of his Heart; beſides which, the dejected looks of his Friends, ſeem'd to repreſent nothing leſs. He ſtood long, with his Eyes fixt on the ground, as if he were ſtupified, and had loſt his ſence in amazement. At laſt recovering himſelf, *Souldiers*, ſaid he, *I had lately like to have been taken from you, by the attempt of a few deſperate men, but by the Grace and Providence of the Gods, I am ſtill preſerv'd; and now I look upon you, it ſomething heightens my indignation againſt the Traytors, who would not only have depriv'd me of Life, but hinder me from gratefully recompencing the merits of ſo many well-deſerving Perſons:* His words here were interrupted with the ſighs of the Souldiers, who many of them were ſo concern'd, that they ſhed Tears. Then the King went on, *But how much more ſhall I trouble you than I have done yet, when I ſhow you the Authors of this Villany, whom I am almoſt afraid to name;*

*but*

*but let former love and affection be ever ſo great, we muſt cancel the thoughts of it, when the Conſpiracies of malicious Subjects call for detection. How can I conceal ſo great a Crime.* Parmenio, *at this Age, and oblig'd by ſo great a multitude of kindneſſes receiv'd, both at my Fathers hands and mine, the moſt ancient of all the Friends I have, was the Ring-Leader of this wickedneſs; the Inſtrument he made uſe of, was his Son* Philotas, *who has ſeduc'd* Peucolaus, Demetrius, *and this* Dimnus, *whoſe Body you here ſee dead, to put the Conſpiracy in Execution.* With that a querulous murmur roſe amongſt the Souldiers, as multitudes, eſpecially military, raiſe, when they either are angry or pleas'd. Afterwards *Nicomachus, Metron,* and *Ceballinus,* being produc'd, every one depos'd his Evidence, but no one accus'd *Philotas*; therefore the People were ſilent after the Witneſſes had ſaid what they could. Then *Alexander, Pray what do you think of the Perſon that would conceal this Information, which action the Death of* Dimnus *declares, not to have been done without deſign. I am ſure had he reported an uncertainty, he need not have fear'd the Rack.* Ceballinus *did not at all delay to diſcover it to him, who might have told it to me whilſt I was dreſſing. It was* Philotas *only who fear'd nothing, and believ'd nothing. What a great piece of conſtancy of mind he ſhow'd in not being concern'd when he hear'd of the danger of his Soveraign? but 'tis manifeſt his concealment was for the ſake of ſome deſign. 'Tis the hopes of Empire that thruſt on his ambitious Soul to theſe Attempts. His Father is Governour of* Media, *and though he has the greateſt Command given him of all the reſt of my Generals, he ſtill covetouſly deſires more; and my being without Iſſue, ſpurs him on to this wicked deſign. But* Philotas *takes wrong meaſures.*

*ſures. I cannot be deſtitute of Parents, Children, and Relations, as long as I have Souldiers; theſe are ſufficient to ſupply their places.* Then he reads *Parmenio's* Letter to his two Sons, *Nicanor*, and *Philotas*, which ſeem'd much to favour the Accuſation. The ſum of which was this: *Firſt look to your ſelves, then to the mannagement of your buſineſs, ſo we ſhall attain the end we aim at.* On which the King commented, *That it was ſo writ on purpoſe, that if it had come to his Sons the Conſpirators might underſtand it, or if it were intercepted, no Body elſe ſhould be the wiſer. But if* Dimnus *amongſt the reſt of the Traytors, did not name* Philotas, *this is not ſo much a ſign of his Innocence as his Power, who was ſo dreaded by his own Party, that though they confeſt themſelves, they dar'd not but conceal him. If the courſe of* Philotas *his Life be objected, I am ſure he was not a ſmall Friend of* Amyntas, *who though my Couſin, laid a Plot for my Life in* Macedonia. *He it was that Married his Siſter to* Attalus, *the greateſt Enemy I had alive. He, when I familiarly inform'd him what the Oracle of* Jupiter Ammon *ſaid, had the boldneſs to write back, that he was a glad I was made a God, but that he pitied thoſe who were his Subjects, who thought him more than a Man. Theſe are ſome manifeſtations certainly of a mind that bore me no great good will, but envyed my glory. And yet truly I always made a ſhift to ſtifle my reſentments; for methought it ſeem'd like tearing out my own Bowels to diminiſh their honour whom I had exalted to it; but now ſuch light offences as words are grown out of date, we are now come to Swords, which if I may be believ'd,* Philotas *draws againſt me. If I let him go on, Souldiers, What ſhall I do, who can I truſt my ſelf with. I have made one Maſter of the Horſe, Chief of my Guards,*

*Guards, the nobleſt part of the Army; my hope, my Fortune, and my Self, were in a manner ſubjected to his Patronage. His Father I have plac't in the ſame degree of honour your Valour plac't me, in the Government of* Media, *than which no Country is more opulent; and though I have put ſo many Cities and Allies in his power, whence I thought I might expect the greateſt love and kindneſs, I find the worſt ingratitude. How happy had it been for me had I been ſlain in the Battel. It had been far more noble to have died the Victim of the Enemy, than fall a Sacrifice to the rage of my Friends. Now being preſerv'd from dangers I dreaded, I am fall'n into thoſe I neither did nor ſhould have been afraid of. You us'd often,* Souldiers, *to deſire, that I would keep my ſelf out of danger, but now it lies in your Power to do it for me. I leave my ſelf wholly to your diſpoſal; againſt your will I ſeek not ſafety, nor can I be ſafe, unleſs you revenge this Inſolence.* This ſaid, He Commanded *Philotas*, in a pittiful ſort of Attire, and his hands bound behind him, to be brought in. It eaſily appear'd they were much moved at ſo miſerable a Spectacle, that a Man who but a little before was the ſubject of their Envy, and one, they had ſeen the day before, Maſter of the Horſe, and entertain'd ſo lately at the Kings Table; all on a ſudden to ſee that very Man, not only guilty but Condemn'd, nor only Condemn'd but Fetter'd; beſides which, the ill Fate of *Parmenio*, ſo great a Captain, and ſo noble a Perſon, workt much on their Minds, whom when they conſider'd depriv'd of his two Sons, *Hector* and *Nicanor*, it ſeem'd, that though he were not there, yet even his abſence pleaded for the preſervation of this that ſurviv'd. Therefore *Amyntas*, General of the Kings Forces, once more, with an invective Oration,

Oration, ſharpen'd the fury of the people againſt *Philotas*, telling them, *That they were betray'd to the* Barbarians, *and that no Body was now likely to return to his Wife and Relations; that they were like to be in the ſame condition a Body is in without a Head, and become the ſcorn of a Foreign Enemy.* But *Amyntas* his Oration did not much pleaſe the King, becauſe that argument of their Wives and Children, was rather fit to make them tardy to martial employ, than any way advance the War. Then *Cenus*, though he had Married *Philotas* his Siſter, made a ſharper Oration againſt him than any one, calling him the Parricide of the King, Army, and his own Country, and taking a ſtone up, was going to daſh his Brains out, as ſome thought, to prevent his torments, but the King kept back his hand, telling him, *He ſhould have liberty to plead for himſelf e're Sentence paſt upon him.* *Philotas* being permitted to ſpeak for himſelf, 'tis uncertain, whether out of a conſcious guilt, or the greatneſs of his danger, was a great while ſo amaz'd, that he neither could lift up his Eyes, nor ſo much as move his Tongue, at laſt letting fall a ſhower of Tears, and ready to faint, he lean'd on the Souldier that ſtood by him; then coming ſomething to himſelf, he wipt his Eyes, and ſeem'd ready to plead his defence. *Then*, ſaid the King, looking upon him, *the* Macedonians *are to be thy Judges; therefore, I demand, if you'll uſe your own Country Speech.* To whom *Philotas*, *Here are others*, ſaid he, *Sir, beſides* Macedonians, *who I ſuppoſe will more eaſily underſtand me, if I ſpeak in the ſame Language as your Majeſty, which I ſuppoſe you did, that you might be the more generally underſtood.* *Then*, ſaid *Alexander*, *Obſerve* Macedonians, Philotas *ſcorns his*

*Native Language, he's asham'd of it, but yet let him plead in what tongue he pleases, only remember this, that he scorns to use our own tongue.* The King saying this went away. Then *Philotas* began thus.

*'Tis no hard matter for an Innocent Person to find words, but 'tis hard for one distracted with misery to govern them. So that, being in a strait, betwixt a spotless Conscience, and a most malicious Fortune, I scarce know how to temper my behaviour suitable to the time, and my unhappy circumstances. He that is the fittest Person to be the Judge in this Case, is away; nor can I possibly divine the cause, why he has refus'd to honour me with his presence. But however he is pleas'd to deal with me, the hearing me plead in my defence, would not have been so forcible, but that afterwards he might either have freed, or condemn'd me. But seeing he disdains to hear me declare my innocence, 'tis impossible, I should be freed by him, when he is away, who present, was pleas'd to pass Sentence of Condemnation on me. But though I am satisfied, that the words of a Prisoner are not only idle and insignificant, but also troublesome; seeing they do not seem so much to inform as to condemn the Judge of Injustice; yet whatever others do, I am resolv'd not to injure my self, nor suffer other people to think me guilty by my silence. Truly, it is past my skill to find out the crime some have so plainly detected. None of the Conspirators name my name.* Nicomachus *had not a word to say of me, nor consequently* Cebalinus, *he knew only what he heard from* Nicomachus; *but yet the King will needs have me be the Author of the Conspiracy. Could* Dimnus *pass by him who was the Head of the Traytors, especially when amongst the others, one of my place might have been a forcible Argument to inveigle the other into the Conspiracy?*

*ſpiracy? For after the diſcovery of the Enterpriſe, he did not paſs by my name, as one that was an Accomplice. He never told ſo much as* Nicomachus, *whom he intruſted, any thing of me; why then ſhould I only be left when he diſcover'd all the reſt. If,* Fellow Souldiers, Ceballinus *had not come to me, I ſhould not have been ſuſpected to have been concern'd in the buſineſs, nor to day have been put to defend my ſelf, for I had not been call'd in queſtion. Had* Dimnus *liv'd, he would have freed me. All the reſt of the Conſpirators confeſt of one another, no body of me. I was ſtill it ſeems excepted. Methinks it is a grievous ſort of puniſhment when an innocent perſon muſt be tormented for a Malefactor. Sure people on the Rack muſt confeſs the truth, as no one ſpares a dying Man, ſo a dying Man ſpares no one; and now I come to the only crime, that with truth is objected againſt me. Why did I conceal the Information ſo long? Why were my Ears ſo ſlow to receive a matter of ſo great importance? As for this, how great ſoever the crime be, thou thy ſelf,* Alexander, *where e're thou art, haſt pardon'd it. I kiſt your hand, the evidence of your Pardon and Favour. I ſupt with you, if therefore you believ'd me, I am at liberty, if you ſpar'd me, I am free, ſtand to your word. What new crime is it that I have done ſince laſt Night? What ſtrange accident has alter'd your diſpoſition ſince I went from your Table. I was in a deep and ſweet ſleep when my Enemies awaked me, little dreaming of my Fate, and bound me with Chains. Is it likely, that Parricides and Traytors ſhould ſleep ſo ſound and ſecure. Men of evil practices have diſturb'd Souls. The furies are continually laſhing their Conſciences, and theſe tortures they endure, not only when they have perform'd, but even whilſt they are hatching their Villanies. Bu alas, I was ſecurely ſleeping. Firſt, Becauſe I truſted*

*to my innocence, and ſecondly, becauſe I relied on my Princes Promiſe. I thought other Peoples Envy could not have prevail'd on thee,* Alexander, *more than thy own goodneſs; and leaſt thou repent of thy Pardon, I'll tell thee why I deſerv'd it. The buſineſs was brought to me by a youth, who had no Witneſs, no proof to confirm his Teſtimony, one that might have fail'd through fear, in telling his cauſe. I thought it idle for me to intermeddle in the quarrel of a Lover and his Love. It was my unhappineſs to give little credit to him, becauſe he, and not his Brother, was the Informer. I fear'd leaſt he ſhould deny, that he ever told* Ceballinus *any ſuch thing, and ſo I might have ſeem'd maliciouſly to have promoted the ſlander of ſome of the Kings beſt Friends; and now at laſt, my caution to endammage others, has redounded to my own dammage; and beſides, how ſhould I have been hated by all men, if I had brought the guiltleſs into queſtion. But* Dymnus *kill'd himſelf. I was no Prophet to foreſee he would do that; ſo that what now has given the greateſt proof to the Evidence at that time, could produce no effect upon me. Had I been an Aſſociate with* Dymnus *in the deſign, ſure I ſhould not have hid it from him two days together.* Ceballinus *the Informer might, with very little trouble, have been diſpatcht. In ſhort, after I was accuſed, when I came alone to ſup with the King, why did I not then kill him? I had a Sword by my ſide; was it becauſe I durſt do nothing without* Dymnus: *If you think ſo, then certainly he, not I, was the head of the Conſpiracy. It was under his ſhade,* Philotas, *that would fain be King of* Macedon, *lay maskt. Who is there among you, whom by Bribes I have endeavoured to draw to my Party? What Commander have I gone about to corrupt? It is objected to me, that I contemn my native Language, and ſcorn the Cuſtoms of the*

Macedonians,

Macedonians, *if ſo, where are the wheedling Artifices by which I aim at Authority? Our native Tongue by Trafficking, with other Nations, is almoſt grown out of uſe, ſo that both the Conquerours and Captives muſt look for ſome other. This report no more injures my reputation, than that I was great with* Amyntas, *the Son of* Perdicca, *who plotted the Kings Death. 'Tis true, I was his Friend. Is not the Kings Couſin German fit to be any ones Friend? But, I beſeech you, is it a capital Crime to be Acquaintance to a Traytor? If this is Juſtice, why do I live ſo long? if Injuſtice, why muſt I live no longer? But it ſeems I wrote, that I pittied the miſerable Subjects who were govern'd by one that thought himſelf the Son of* Jupiter. *See what it is to be too faithful a Friend, and how dangerous ſometimes a freedom in ſpeech is. I confeſs I wrote thus to the King, not of the King; for it was never my deſign to ſcandalize him. But I was concern'd for him. I thought it was more becoming* Alexander, *if he was* Jove's *Son, to keep his high Birth to himſelf, rather than boaſtingly to publiſh it; but ſeeing what the Oracle ſays is ſure and fixt, let that be conſulted in my Caſe. Keep me here in Chains, till* Jupiter Ammon *releaſe me. He that owns our King for his Son, will not ſure be ſo unkind, as let any Traytor againſt him lie conceal'd; but if you think no Oracle can explode the truth ſo well as torments, I am not afraid to ſuffer them. People that are condemn'd, uſually ſhow their Parents. I have lately loſt two Brothers; as for my Father, I neither can, nor dare if I could, ſhew him you; ſcarce dare I name him, ſince he to it ſeems lies under the ſame Condemnation. For 'tis not enough, that a Father of ſo many hopeful Children be depriv'd of them all; and me, the only ſurviving comfort of his Grey Hairs, unleſs he himſelf helps to conſummate the Tragedy. Therefore, deareſt*

*Father, thou ſhalt not only die as well as I, but for my Cauſe. 'Tis wretched, that I, that had my Life from thee, ſhould take away thine in requital. Why didſt thou beget an unhappy Son, to make thy ſelf unhappy that begot me? Was this the recompence, that after a tedious Education you expected to receive? I cannot tell which to reckon the moſt unfortunate, thy Old Age, or my Youth. I, for my part, am cut off in the Flower of my Age, thou ſhalt have thoſe dayes ignobly ſhortned, by the hand of an Executioner, which if Fortune could a little while have ſuſpended her Cruelty, might have been brought to an honourable end, by Old Age. Now I ſpeak of my Father, the mentioning of him puts me in mind how ſmall my offence was, in cautiouſly delaying to further* Ceballinus's *Information. For* Parmenio *being inform'd, that* Alexander *was to be Poiſon'd by his Phyſician* Philip, *certified him of it, by a Letter, adviſing him not to take the Potion. But did my Father gain Credit, did his Letters produce any effect. How often have I my ſelf, for lightly taking up reports, lain under the ſuſpicion of Credulity. If when we do publiſh all we hear, we gain Peoples ill will, and when we do not, we are reckon'd Malefactors, what is it that we ſhould do.* Mean while, one of the multitude cry'd out, *That Loyal Perſons were not us'd to be concern'd in Plots, Right,* anſwered *Philotas, Therefore, if I am concern'd in them, it will never grieve me. But I have done, for I perceive I grow troubleſome.* Saying ſo, the Guards led him off.

There was, amongſt the Officers, one *Bolon*, a very ſtout Fellow, a Man purpoſely moulded for War, an old Souldier, and by his own Merits, had roſe from a common Souldier to the degree he was in; who, when all the reſt were ſilent, in a Fooliſh rage began to make an Harangue, telling

telling them, "How often ſeveral of them had "been turn'd out of their Lodgings to make room "for *Philotas*'s Servants and their Baggage; and "that his Carriages, laden with great ſtore of "rich Booty, fill'd the ſtreets; and how that no "other Souldier was permitted to take Quarters "near him, but were forc't, by his Attendants, "to remove further off; that not ſo much as a "Womans Tongue muſt move, for fear of wa-"king his Lordſhip. How he us'd, in contempt, "to call Country People *Phrygians*, and *Paphla-"gonians*, and though he were a *Macedonian* "Born, was oft ſo proud, as to talk to his own "Country-men by an Interpreter; and that he "had but little reaſon to expect favour at *Jupi-"ter*'s hands, who did as good as tell him he "ly'd, in ſaying, *Alexander* was his Son; and "that he had better have conſulted *Jupiter* be-"fore he plaid the Traytor. That it was very "fooliſh to ſend to the Oracle, to know the cer-"tainty of what they were already aſſur'd, from "by the Kings Mouth. And in the mean while, "perhaps let his Father, who is Governour of "*Media*, raiſe an Army, and come to his Re-"ſcue; but if they would needs ſend to the "Oracle, let it be to give thanks for *Alexander*'s "Preſervation. Then all the Auditory was in an Uproar, crying out, to tear the Parricide in pieces. *Philotas*, who fear'd more grievous tor-ments, was glad to hear that. The King com-ing back again to the place where the People were Aſſembled, whether it were becauſe he might be tortur'd in Priſon, or that he might more throughly underſtand the buſineſs, Ad-journ'd the Council till next day. Though it was now towards Evening, yet notwithſtanding

he ſent for his Friends, and all agreed, that after the Cuſtom of the *Macedonians*, he might be ſtoned; but *Hepheſtian*, *Cenus*, and *Craterus*, counſel'd to have him examin'd by Tortures: all the reſt turn'd to be of their mind, and ſo the Council was diſmiſt. The King ſending for *Craterus*, and having diſcourſt ſomething with him, which was kept very cloſe, went into his Cloſet, and ſat up moſt part of the night, to know what effect the torments might produce. The Torturers laid out all their tormenting Engines before *Philotas*'s Face. 'Then, ſaid he, what makes you 'ſo ſlow to kill the Kings Enemy, his Murtherer, 'one that plotted his deſtruction. What need is 'there of any further Examination, I reſolv'd 'and deſign'd it. *Craterus* was inſtant to have him acknowledge upon the Rack what he ſaid then. Whilſt they blind him, and take his Coat of, he invokes in vain the Law of Nations and the Gods. At laſt, as one Condemn'd to Death, he is tormented by his Enemies to pleaſure the King. At firſt, the Fire on one ſide, and ſtripes on the other, were inflicted, not ſo much to extort Confeſſion, as to kill him. He not only forbore to cry out, but did not ſo much as grone, and preſently his Body ſwell'd with Ulcers, and not being able to indure the Blows ſounding on his naked Ribs, He told them, *If they would forbear torturing him, he would tell them all they deſir'd to know.* But firſt, he made them ſwear by the Life of *Alexander*, that they would remove the Torturers, and torment him no more; which being granted, *Then*, ſaid he to *Craterus*, *What would you have me ſay?* *Craterus* being angry to be ſo mockt, and calling back the Tormentors, *He deſir'd ſpace to take breath, and*

*that*

*that afterwards he'd confeſs.* Mean while the Noblemen and others, who were any way related to *Parmenio*, hearing *Philotas* was tortur'd, and dreading the *Macedonian* Law, which was, That thoſe who were near Allied to a Malefactor, ſhould ſhare the ſame puniſhment. Some ſtab'd themſelves, others ran away into Wilderneſſes and Deſarts, and a great Conſternation ſpread o're the Camp, till the King Iſſued out a Proclamation of Indemnity from the Law to the Kindred. Whether *Philotas* confeſt what was true, or falſe, is much to be queſtion'd, ſince grief and pain extorts one as well as the other. But thus he began, 'My Father, ſaid he, was very familiar 'with *Hegelochus*, who was kill'd in the Battel, he 'was the Cauſe of all our Misfortune; for as 'ſoon as the King Commanded himſelf to be ſa-'luted by the name of *Jupiter*'s Son, he taking it 'very ill. Shall we, ſaid he, acknowledge him 'for our King, who ſcorns to own *Philip* for his 'Father. If we can once endure this, 'tis no mat-'ter what becomes of us. He who deſires to be 'thought a Deity, does not only deſpiſe men, 'but the Gods. We have loſt *Alexander* our 'King, and are fallen into Pride, not to be en-'dur'd by the Gods whom he would Rival, nor 'Men whom he thinks ſo far beneath him. Have 'we with our Blood purchaſt him a Godhead, 'at laſt to meet with this contempt from his Di-'vinity, who ſcorns to ſpeak to Mortals. Be-'lieve me, if we do but play the Men, we may 'make our ſelves as much Gods as he. Who re-'veng'd the Death of the firſt *Macedonian Alex-'ander*? Who after him reveng'd *Archelaus*? Who 'Perdiccas? Nay, this who now Reigns has par-'don'd his Fathers Murtherers. *Hegelochus* ſpoke

'this

'this at Supper; the next day I was sent for by 'my Father; he seem'd very thoughtful, and ob- 'serv'd me to be somewhat disturb'd; for we 'had heard things which made us concern'd: 'Therefore, that we might see if he had spoke 'this in his Cups, or out of a resolution, we sent 'for him. He came, and renewing the Dis- 'course, he added, that if we would be the 'leading Men, he, under us, would manage 'the attempt, but if we would not enter upon 'it, he intreated us not to discover the design. '*Parmenio* thought it would be a piece of folly 'to kill *Alexander* whilst *Darius* was yet alive, by 'which deed he should not do himself so great a 'kindness as the Enemy. But as soon as *Darius* 'was overcome, he thought *Asia* and the East 'would be a glorious recompence for the Mur- 'ther; and we all agreeing in this, swore to in- 'gage in the Conspiracy. As for any thing con- 'cerning *Dymnus*, I have nothing to say, but af- 'ter all my Confession, I know it signifies no- 'thing to me to be innocent. Then they tor- mented him again, beating his Head and Eyes with Staves, and forced him to confess this other Crime, and to discover the Series of the Plot. 'When the King, said he, as we thought, would 'spend much time in *Bactria*, we were afraid, 'that my Father, who was seventy years old, 'and had so great a Command, might die, and 'so loose a great help to our Exploit, in lo- 'sing the Commander over so great a Power, and 'consequently succeed but ill, in the attempt of 'murthering the King; and therefore we made 'haste whilst we had so fair an opportunity. Thus 'said he, I have reveal'd all the Plot, of which, 'if you believe my Father to be the Author, I

'don't

'don't refuse to be tormented, though I can't 'endure it. They that were present said, that they had heard enough, and return'd to the King, who the next day Commanded him, because he could not stand, to be brought to him, where his Confession was repeated, all which he acknowledged to be true. *Demetrius*, suppos'd next him, to be chiefly concern'd in the Treason, was brought forth, who with many Protestations, and great presence of Mind, and little or no alteration of Countenance, denied, that he had ever Plotted against the King. In the mean while, *Philotas*, casting round his Eyes, looks upon one *Calis*, who stood at no great distance off, and desir'd him to come nigher, who being something unwilling to come at his Call, He cry'd out; *How canst thou endure to hear* Demetrius *lye thus, and have no revenge again.* *Calis* strait fell down in a swoon, so that the *Macedonians* suppos'd, that *Philotas* had a mind to accuse those that were guiltless, because neither *Nicomachus*, nor *Philotas*, when he was tormented, had mention'd that young Man, who seeing the Kings Officers stand round him, confest, that he and *Demetrius* had been concern'd in that Conspiracy. They therefore, after their Country Custom, stoned all those who had been named by *Nicomachus*. So *Alexander* was not only freed from an imminent, but also, from an evident peril of his Life. For two Persons so great as *Parmenio* and *Philotas*, could not, unless prov'd guilty, have been condemn'd without a great Commotion in the Army, but after his Confession, *Philotas* his greatest Friends, thought him unworthy of their Commiseration.

The

# The Seventh Book.

THE punishment inflicted on *Philotas*, though indeed it was very severe, seemed no greater to the Souldiers than he had deserved, whilst the remembrance of the Treason for which he suffered, was fresh in their minds. But after the object of their Envy was for sometime removed, that not only ceased, but was turned into pity, partly of himself, that he was so slain in the prime of his Age, and after he acquired such deserved applause; partly of his Father, who was grown old, and then deprived of the chiefest comfort of his Age; grown old he was in *Alexanders* and his Fathers Service; for he was King *Philip*'s chiefest Favourite, and so much esteemed by *Alexander* himself, that he was the first who opened him the way into *Asia*, and who alone was sent by him, to subdue so potent an Enemy as *Attalus*. These considerations spread presently throughout the whole Army, insomuch, that some seditious and treasonable Speeches were told the King; he seemed not much affected therewith, but he was certain, that as the want of other Subjects to imploy your thoughts upon, caused these reflections, so some business would quite silence them. In order to this he ordered an Assembly to be call'd in the Porch of the Palace, at which he was present himself. The first thing he did was, he Commanded *Lyncestes Alexander* to be brought

before him, he had been proved a Traytor, by two Witneſſes, long before *Philotas*, and had been in Cuſtody for three years; Nay, he was known to be a Conſpirator with *Pauſanias*, againſt King *Philip*, but becauſe he was the firſt who ſaluted *Alexander* King, he was exempted from the puniſhment but not cleared of the Crime, for his Sentence was delayed at the requeſt of *Antipater* his Father-in-Law. But the preſent care he took of himſelf, put him in mind of the paſt danger, and wakened that rage which had ſo long ſlept in his Boſom. He was brought out of Priſon, and had liberty given him to make his defence, which though he had been three years in compoſing, yet he was ſo ſtruck with horrour and amazement, that he could ſcarce ſay any thing for himſelf; nay, in a ſhort time, not only his memory, but his Sences failed him alſo; though this his Confeſſion was lookt on by all, as the reſult of his guilt, not the fault of his memory; wherefore whilſt he ſtammered in his excuſe, thoſe who ſtood next him, thruſt him through with their Spears; and as ſoon as his Body was carried off, the King called for *Amyntas* and *Simmias*, whoſe youngeſt Brother *Polemon* was fled at the news of *Philotas* being put to the Rack. Theſe were the chiefeſt of the Friends of *Philotas*, whom by his intereſt with the King, he had advanced to ſeveral conſiderable Offices; Theſe *Alexander* lookt upon as privy to his Conſpiracy, becauſe he remembred how earneſtly he often recommended them to his ſervice. Whereupon he declared, that his Mother had long before adviſed him in Letters to avoid thoſe two, but that being not prone to believe ſuch reports, he had concealed his ſuſpicion

till

till he had ſuch grounds for it, that he could no longer forbear to detect them. *For*, ſaid he, *they cannot deny, but the day before* Philotas *was put to the Wrack, they were with him in private, and what the cauſe of that Conference was, the abſence of their Brother did not a little evince.* He added, that he had obſerved them for ſome time to be more officious than they uſed to be, to croud themſelves near his Perſon, inſomuch that for fear he oft retreated to the Eſquires of his Body, to prevent Aſſaſſination. That when *Antiphanes*, his chief Groom told *Amyntas* the day before *Philotas* was Executed, that after the Cuſtom of the Country, he muſt give Horſes to thoſe who loſt their own, he was anſwered, that unleſs he deſiſted, in a ſhort time he ſhould know who he ſpoke to. Which big words ſo raſhly ſpoken, he affirmed to be evident ſigns of the miſchief they had in their hearts, and which if true, they deſerved the Puniſhment of *Philotas*, and if falſe, he commanded them to manifeſt them to be ſo. At laſt, *Antiphanes* was called to give in his Evidence, who confirmed the Kings Accuſation, that he denyed the Horſes, and ſpake thoſe threatning words. *Amyntas* had leave given to make his defence, but he deſired that both of them might for that time be ſet at liberty, which the King granted; another requeſt was, that he might be permitted to put on his Cloak; that was not only granted, but the King ordered him a Lance, ſuch as Eſquires made uſe of, which he held in his left hand, and ſtepping ſome diſtance from the place where *Lynceſtes* was ſlain, he began his Defence after this manner.

*Whatever Deſtiny*, moſt Gracious Sovereign, *we ſhall ſuffer, all the Tragical part we muſt aſcribe*

10

to Fortune; all the prosperous to your incomparable Clemency, since without prejudice we have leave to defend our selves with all the priviledge both of mind and body; the one being cloathed with the same Garments in which we usually did attend your Majesty, the other with the same Duty the best of your Servants can boast of. Wherefore we despise all the frowns of Fortune, since the goodness of our Cause will not suffer us to fear. And first, I shall entreat your patience to hear my Answer to your last Objections. I cannot only affirm that I am innocent of any words that seem to reflect on your Majesty, but was not willing to seem to excuse my self only by Encomiums, and what would perhaps seem Flattery; I could say, that you have so overcome all Envy, that none would do it, if no Punishment were due to such Offenders. I hope, Dread Sir, you are satisfied, that tho' your Souldiers, either tired in a long and tedious March, or in a dangerous Battel, or else sick and wounded in the Camp, should speak a little hardly of you; that the rest of their good services may convince you, that those proceed rather from their sufferings than their hearts. In a general Calamity who is not guilty of some Absurdity? Some proceed so far, as to harm themselves, which without dispute is against Nature: Our very Parents and Children, if met in that hurry and uproar, are tedious and unwelcome to us. But how are we changed from this temper when we come from a Battel laden with Spoil and Plunder? who can then contain our Loyal shouts? 'Tis as easie to stop us at the first onset of a Fight, as to restrain our gladness at a Victory. All our Passions rule too much over us: We dispraise a man under displeasure scurrilously; one in prosperity we praise exceedingly; those we think in misery, we pity feelingly; and our Anger is implacable. Whilst we lie still, divers considerations offer themselves to

us;

*us; ſometimes we have a deſire to ſee the utmoſt parts of* India *and the Ocean, until we reflect upon our Country, Wives, and Children, and then we alter our Reſolution. But all theſe Imaginations vaniſh at the ſound of the Trumpet; our Diſcourſes are broken off, and all diſcontent is turned into an unanimous hatred, and whets our Courage againſt the Enemy. I could wiſh* Philotas *had had ſo much Innocence on his ſide, to have offended in words only. But to return to our Crime, which is the Friendſhip contracted between him and us. This I am ſo far from denying, that I am proud to own it; that I endeavoured to ingratiate my ſelf with him, and what the benefits of it were, our Offices will teſtifie. But ſure your Majeſty cannot wonder that* Philotas, *the Son of* Parmenio, *who was the chiefeſt and beſt beloved Favourite, ſhould be admired and eſteemed by us. If therefore I may boldly ſpeak the truth, your ſelf are the cauſe of this Miſdemeanor; for what other way ſhould we ſtrive to manifeſt our Love and Loyalty to you, than to endear our ſelves to the greateſt Favourites? by whoſe introduction to your Majeſty and recommendation we were preferred to theſe honourable Services under your Majeſty. So much was he honoured with your favours, that as his aſſiſtance might be hoped for, ſo his diſpleaſure ought to have been feared. Our very Oath of Allegiance obligeth us to repute men either our Friends or our Enemies, according as they are to you: Should we then after ſo ſolemn an Oath, not greatly eſteem his Friendſhip, whoſe Perſon was the moſt acceptable to you? If this be a Crime, I challenge any one that can prove himſelf innocent. All certainly, were ambitious of, though they could not attain to the Honour of being Friends to* Philotas. *So, if all that were eſteemed his Friends, be condemned, thoſe alſo that would have been, will*

*hardly*

*hardly be exempted out of the number. What Circumſtance is there to prove us guilty? Is our ſecret and private Conference the day before he was apprehended, reputed one? That was our daily cuſtom, and well might I have been at a ſtand to have found an Excuſe for the ſudden breach of that: The continuance of which friendly enjoying one anothers converſation, even to the day he was detected, ſeems not the leaſt excuſe that I have to urge in my own defence. Next, for that which* Antiphanes *witneſſeth againſt me, that I denyed the Horſes, is equally ſuſpicious to himſelf as to me; for if I be ſuſpected for denyal, the manner and reaſon of his Requeſt ſhould be enquired into: For in this caſe the Crime is the ſame, ſave that he which keeps his own is leſs blameable than he who unjuſtly demands another mans. Of ten Horſes which I had, eight were already diſtributed to thoſe who had loſt their own,* Antiphanes *both imperiouſly, and I conceive unjuſtly demanded the other two, ſo that I muſt either deny him, or ſerve your Majeſty on foot. I do confeſs I did treat him in my Diſcourſe as one below me, and one ſtraining his Authority beyond its bounds and meaſures, and what grates my Nature is, that at the ſame time that I excuſe my boldneſs to your Majeſty, I do it to* Antiphanes *alſo. As to the next Objection, of your Mothers cautions, I wiſh ſhe had been more guided by Reaſon in her ſuſpicions, and not endeavoured to create vain fears and jealouſies in mens minds. She hath not been pleaſed to expreſs the cauſe ſhe had to ſuſpect our Loyalty, nor the Author that put it in her Head to write to you. What a wretched condition am I reduced to, when I cannot tell whether my ſilence would not convince my Innocence as well as my defence! But however I be dealt withal, I had rather, that ſhould diſpleaſe your Majeſty, than that you ſhould ſtill look upon me as guilty. This very proof of*

*my Innocence your Majesty I hope may remember to be true: When I was sent into* Macedon *to raise new Levies, you told me your self, that about your Mothers Court were many brave Young Men, whom without exception you strictly commanded me to bring; how dangerous the punctual observance of this Command is like to prove, your Majesty best knows. I extended my Commission further than was convenient, for I forced* Gorgias, Hecateus, *and* Gorgata, *whose Services have proved considerable; yet consider, I humbly desire you, if in justice I deserve to dye for putting in execution your own Command, which if I had not done, I had deservedly been punished as a Traytor. For I am confident your Mother had no other Reason to caution you against me, but because I preferred doing you Service before the pleasure of gratifying a Lady's Request. I brought you from* Macedon 6000 *Foot, and* 600 *Horse, many of whom by vertue of my Authority, I forced to follow me. So that your Majesty seems to be obliged to reconcile us to your Mother, to whose displeasure your Command exposed us.*

While *Amyntas* was thus defending himself, those who pursued *Polemon*, brought him in bound; This so moved the whole Assembly, that they could scarce be kept from stoning him immediately; yet he with undaunted courage thus cryed out: 'I entreat not for any favour to be shewed 'to my self, but that my flight be not imputed to 'my innocent Brethren: The fault I wholly take 'upon my self, and may the suspicion of my 'flying clear them that were suspected before. This generous Confession so wrought upon the minds of the giddy Multitude, that they immediately with Tears began to bewail him, whom so lately they had condemned. He was a handsome Man, and then in the flower of his Age.

The

The reaſon of his flying was, that he with many others were ſtrangely terrified at the unuſual torments of *Philotas*; with theſe he fled a little away, and being at a ſtand whether to come back or not, and having loſt his Company, he was ſeized by thoſe who purſued him. He began to burſt out into tears, and to revenge his Brothers danger upon himſelf, which he ſaid was the only thing that troubled him. This behaviour mollified both the King, and all that ſaw it, but his enraged Brother, and *Then*, ſaid he, *degenerate Wretch, ſhould thou thus have bewailed thy ſelf, when thou fleddeſt like a Traytor, and left us, thy Brothers to endure the ſcandal of it, which is far worſe than the puniſhment. Whither, and from whom didſt thou fly? For thy ſake muſt I become thy Accuſer, as thou hath cauſed me to be ſuſpected, and call thee Traytor.*

He confeſſed, that their misfortune was far more grievous to him than the worſt which could befal himſelf. This ſo amazed the Auditours, that with ſhouts and Acclamations, the way in which they commonly expreſs themſelves, they Proclaimed him innocent, and that it was Juſtice, that ſo brave men ſhould be ſpared. Then his Friends, with weeping Eyes, and bended Knees, ſued in that nick of time for Mercy, to *Alexander*, who thus gave his Sentence.

*You*, Amyntas, ſaid he, *and your Brethren, I ſo freely pardon, that I deſire you ſhould rather forget my kindneſs in forgiving, than remember the danger you once were in. Be as truly reconciled to me as I am to you. Had your excellent defence quite cleared you of my ſuſpicions, I might be ſuſpected my ſelf of diſſimulation, but 'tis much ſafer to be quite cleared than ſuſpected, which is not to be effected without a Tryal.*

*You,* Amyntas, *to evidence that you are reconciled to me, embrace and forgive your Brother.*

After this the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and *Alexander* called for *Polydamas*, who was the greateſt Friend to *Parmenio*, and always ſtood next to him in the Battle. At firſt he boldly entred the Palace, relying on his Innocence, but as ſoon as the King Commanded him to bring his Children, who were not yet old enough to ſerve him, and therefore were unknown to him, his Courage began to fail, and he was downright afraid, not conſidering any event, but the many occaſions the King might take to kill him. The Guards immediately brought his Children, and *Alexander* perceiving *Polydamas* in a great fear, he Commanded the reſt to withdraw, and thus ſpoke to him:

*Although* Parmenio's *Treaſon was like to prove deſtructive to all; yet eſpecially would it prove ſo to us whom he all along deceived, under the colour of Friendſhip, notwithſtanding which, in the puniſhment of his Treaſon, you then intend to make uſe of as the inſtrument. Whilſt you put it in Execution your Kindred ſhall be your Pledges. You muſt diſpatch into* Media, *with my Letters, to all my Lieutenants, and your haſt muſt be ſo great, as to prevent the report of it. Order your Journey ſo as to get thither in the night, and ſee my Commands Executed the next day. You ſhall carry Letters from me, and one in* Philotas's *name, to* Parmenio, *for I have his Seal; who by ſeeing his Sons Letters, will not in the leaſt ſuſpect your buſineſs.*

As ſoon as *Polydamas* was ſatisfied that he was ſafe, he promiſed his aſſiſtance more freely than the King expected it, though he both praiſed, and rewarded him for it; immediately he put

off

off his *Macedonian* Habit, and put on an *Arabian* one. Two *Arabians*, whose Wife and Children remained with *Alexander*, were to be his Companions and Guides. After eleven days Journey upon Camels, and through a dry and barren soil, he came to *Mellia*, and before any news was spread of his arrival, he went to the Apartment of *Cleander*, who was Deputy-Lieutenant, about the fourth Watch of the Night, who, when he had read the Letters, promised to meet him the next Morning early at *Parmenio*'s Lodging, because he had several other Letters to deliver to others of his Attendants. But before he got to *Parmenio* he was sent for by him, he having had the news of his coming, and he was impatient, partly of seeing his old Friend, and partly of hearing of the Kings Proceedings, from whom, by reason of the distance between them, he had not had any Letters for a great while. The Houses of that Country are very pleasantly seated, with Groves and large Gardens adjoining to them, in which the Nobility took their chief Recreations. *Parmenio* was there in his Grove, with all the Officers, who had receiv'd Orders to kill him, who had agreed to fall upon him just as he began to read the Letters which *Polydamas* brought to him. As soon as *Polydamas* was in sight, with great tokens of joy in his Countenance, he ran to embrace him, who, after the usual Complements had pass'd between them, presented the Kings Letters to him. As he was breaking the Seal, he asked what Enterprise *Alexander* was then about? *Polydamas* answered, *The Letters would give him a better account than he was able.* He read the Kings Letter out, and thus spake to them that accompanied him. *The King I understand,* said he,

he, *is preparing for an Expedition against the* Arachosians, *nor can I help wondring at his indefatigable industry and labour; and why, after so many famous Exploits, he will not suffer him to take an honourable repose.* Then opened he his Sons Letter with so much joy, that he could not dissemble it, which he no sooner began to read, but *Cleander* first stabbed him in the side, then in the Throat, and the rest shamefully mangled the dead Body. Some of his Servants who were so nigh as to see their Master slain, and not knowing the reason, immediately ran into the Camp, and represented the matter to the Souldiers in the worst circumstances: They ran presently in a tumultuous manner to the Garden, and though it was walled about, yet did they threaten, that unless *Polydamas*, and the rest of the Officers concerned in the Murther, would yield themselves up, they would break down the Wall, and sacrifice every one of them to the Memory of their Master. But *Cleander* Commanded some of the Chief to be introduced, and read unto them the Kings Letters, which laid open the Treason he was proved guilty of, and entreated them so do him Justice. When they were satisfied that 'twas *Alexanders* Command their fury ceased, but their resentment of it could not be hid. The greater part retired to their Tents, but some very earnestly begged that they might be permitted, at least to bury the Body, which, through *Cleander*'s fear of offending *Alexander*, was denied, till they grew so importunate, that he thought it the only way to appease their insolence; and having cut off the Head, gave them the Body to be interred. The Head he sent to *Alexander*.

This

This was the unfortunate end of *Parmenio*, a man famous for his Counſel at home, and his warlike Enterprizes abroad: One who without *Alexander* had perform'd many glorious Actions, but without whom *Alexander* never undertook or finiſhed any great Attempt. He had ſerved the King until the *70th.* Year of his Age, and even then performed the Office of a good Commander, and upon occaſion that of a common Souldier, with the Experience of Age, and the Vigour of Youth. He was no leſs able to execute than to give good Advice, and was very highly eſteemed by all the Court, but an exceeding great Favourite with the People. Which great abilities, whether they did really make him affect Popularity, and enter into a Conſpiracy, or only ſuſpected of it, is uncertain: For even when the Treaſon was hotly talked of, none could affirm but that *Philotas* might not be ſenſible of what he ſpake upon the Rack, or that he might accuſe himſelf to be freed from the torments of it. Many there were who could not forbear expreſſing their thoughts of the injuſtice of *Parmenio's* death, theſe therefore *Alexander* put into one Band by themſelves, and made *Leonidas*, who was the moſt intimate and boſome Friend to *Parmenio*, their Captain. Moſt of theſe were ſuſpected by him upon another account; and deſigning to try how they ſtood affected to him, he publiſhed an Order, that all who would ſend any Letters to *Macedon*, ſhould ſend by thoſe whom he ſhould appoint, promiſing that they ſhould be faithfully delivered. No man ſuſpected any thing of a diſcovery, but freely and fully diſcloſed his mind to his Friends. Some began to complain of the War, others, and the

greater number, approved of it; but by this device all the Letters were intercepted, and those who had too much expressed their dislike of the War, he drew out into a Regiment by themselves for their disgrace, at once to remove them from corrupting others, and to encourage them to redeem their Credit by signalizing their Valour in a Battel. His Fortune turned even this rash attempt to his intended ends, for they proved the most resolute of all his Forces, and what with the hope of taking off the aspersion cast on them, and of the certainty they had of being taken notice of, they did incomparable Service.

*Alexander* having thus settled his Affairs, and appointed a Lieutenant over the *Arrians*, he declared his intention of marching against the People call'd formerly the *Agriaspians*, but who have since changed their name to *Evergetans*, being so called by *Cyrus*, for the succour, his Army, when in great distress, did receive of them. After five days Journey he arrived there, but had the News brought him, that *Satibarzanes*, one of *Bessus*'s Companions, had invaded the *Arians* again with a detachment of Horse: Upon this, he drew out 6000 Foot, and 600 Horse, and sent them against him under the Command of *Caranus*, *Erigyus*, *Artabasus*, and *Andronicus*. In the space of two Months he setled all this Province, and bestow'd a great Sum of Money on them for their Loyalty to *Cyrus*. He subdued the Province of the *Arrachosians*, which boardereth on the Sea of *Pontus*, and made *Amenides*, who had been Secretary to *Darius*, Governor of the *Evergetans*.

Here he joyned that part of the Army which was under *Parmenio*, consisting of 6000 *Macedonians*,

*nians*, 5000 *Grecian* Foot-men, 200 Noble-men, and as many Horſe-men, which were the chief ſtrength of his Army. Over the *Arrachoſians* he appointed *Memnon* with a Gariſon of 4000 Foot, and 400 Horſe. From hence he led his Army into a Nation, which by reaſon of its barbarouſneſs and unwillingneſs to traffick with its Neighbours, was utterly unknown to them: The Inhabitants are called *Parapamiſadans*, and are very barbarous, the nature of their Country having much prevailed upon their diſpoſitions. They lye the neareſt to the Northern Pole, being bounded by *Bactria* on the Weſt, and by the *Indian* Sea on the South. They build Huts and Dens of Brick, and their Country hath ſo little Timber, that they build Roof and all of the ſame brick, but laying a broad Foundation, they build narrower as the Pile aſcends, until the top be like the keel of a Ship, which is open, and ſupplieth the place of Windows. If they do preſerve any Vines, or other fruitful Trees, they cover them half way with Earth, and in the Winter all over, ſo that as the Summer comes on, they by degrees open them to the Sun, when the Snow is melted; which is ſo deep, and ſo hard frozen, that there did not appear the leaſt ſign of a Bird or a Beaſt. The Air is ſo thick and foggy, that the light was ſo dim, that things could ſcarce be diſcerned at a ſmall diſtance. In this inhoſpitable and barren Country, void of all Humanity, the Army ſuffer'd all the hardſhip imaginable; Hunger, Cold, Wearineſs, and what increaſed all, no hopes of being rid of any. Many were quite kill'd with cold, others Feet were numbed, others found it moſt hurtful to their Eyes, ſome deſiring to reſt their wearied

Limbs,

Limbs, and lying on the Snow, as ſoon as their motion ceaſed, their Natural heat ceaſed too, that they could not without help riſe again, and nothing could remedy it but compelling them to go forwards, by which ſtirring themſelves they began to receive ſome warmth again. If any could light on a Hut, they refreſhed themſelves preſently, but the darkneſs was ſo great, that they could not be diſcerned but by the ſmoak. The *Barbarians* having never ſeen any ſtranger before, much leſs an Enemy, were almoſt aſtoniſhed with fear, and brought them out what their Cottages would afford, deſiring only that their lives might be ſpared. *Alexander* himſelf on foot came into the Ranks, lifting ſome up, who could not riſe, and giving his Arm to them to aſſiſt them. Sometimes he was in the Front, ſometimes in the Rear, ſometimes in the midſt of his Army, taking twice the toil of any common Souldier. At laſt he came to places better till'd, where he found plenty of Proviſion, and ſtay'd till thoſe who were left behind could overtake him. From hence he went to Mount *Caucaſus*, which with its continued ridge divideth all *Aſia*; on one ſide lyeth the *Cilician* Sea, on the other the *Caſpian*, and the River *Araxes*, and ſome of the barren parts of *Scythia*. *Taurus* is the next great Mountain, which joyns to *Caucaſus*, and riſing out of *Cappadocia*, runs by *Cilicia*, and joyns it ſelf to the Mountains of *Armenia*. From theſe Mountains thus joyning, do all the Rivers of *Aſia* flow, ſome into the *Red Sea*, others into the *Caſpian*; ſome into the *Hyrcanian*, and not a few into that of *Pontus*. His Army was ſeventeen days in paſſing over *Caucaſus*, where they ſaw a Rock, which is ten

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furlongs in compass, and four in height, to which the Poets feign'd *Prometheus* was bound. At the foot of this Rock he chose a piece of Ground to build a City upon for 7000 old *Macedonian* Souldiers and some others, whom he discharged from serving him any longer in his Wars; which City is called *Alexandria*.

But *Alexander*'s wonted celerity did not a little alarm *Bessus*, who having sacrificed to his titular Deities, after the manner of the Country, invited his Officers to a Banquet, at which they were to consult what was to be done. After they began to be heated with Wine, all began to magnifie their own strength and number, and laught at the weakness of their Enemy; but *Bessus* especially, who was naturally proud, and having that Pride increased with the Title he had got by base Treachery, alledged, that by the sloth and negligence of *Darius*, *Alexander* had increased his Victories and his Reputation. That the first sign of his ill conduct appeared in the Battel fought so rashly in the Streights of *Cilicia*, when he might easily have drawn him into some Desart surrounded with Rivers and Mountains, and starved him, or cut him off at his pleasure, without any fear either of his flight or his resistance. Wherefore his Counsel was, to retreat to the *Sogdians*, and having the River *Oxus* for their fence, there make new levies of Men, and get some Auxiliary Forces. He assured them that the *Choraſmians*, the *Dahæ*, the *Sacæ*, the *Indians*, and *Scythians* which live beyond *Tanais*, would all joyn against the common Enemy, the lowest of whom were taller by the head than the stoutest *Macedonian*. This Advice seemed to all the drunken Coun-

Counsellors the safest, and was received with a confused noise; at which *Bessus* drank more brimmers, and made them go about, as if there he intended to overcome *Alexander*. At the Banquet was one *Cobares*, a *Median*, a man more Famous for the profession of, than any understanding he had in Magick, (if there be any such Art more than what each real brain feigns to it self) otherwise an honest and prudent man. He first making his Apology, telling them how much safer it was for a Subject to obey, than to give Counsel, because they who obey can but run the same hazard with those who advise, whilst the Counsellor, if his Advice succeed not, is in the greatest peril. Then passing the Cup about, *The Nature of man*, said he, *may upon this account be counted evil and perverse, because every man is not so quick sighted in his own business as his Companions. A mans own Counsel must unavoidably be various and unsettled, since his fear, or his covetousness, or love may hinder his own good. To* Bessus *I shall not impute arrogance, if I say, that he hath experienced that every man thinks that counsel which he gives himself the best. But consider how great, and how weighty a burthen lyes upon you, I mean an Imperial Crown, which must be carried with moderation, or else, what I dare not think of, the weight will fall upon and crush the bearer. Sober and prudent Counsel must be made use of, not hot and furious determinations.*

His Discourse he concluded with two or three *Bactrian* Proverbs; *That a fearful Dog will bark more than bite; and the deepest Rivers glide with the least noise.* Which I inserted on purpose to give a hint at the policy of these *Barbarians*. The Company wondred to what his Discourse tended, till

till at last he proceeded to this advice, which was more profitable than grateful to *Bessus.*

*I hope, by this time, that you are convinced of* Alexanders *Expedition, since now he is ready to enter the very Tent. So well Exercised are his Men, that he moves the whole Body of them as soon as you your Table, which you Feast at. Will you now, therefore, fetch succours as far as* Tanais, *and in the mean time set Rivers to repulse the Invasion of the Enemy. Is not the way, the passages, the same to him as they are to you? Cannot he follow whither you can fly? Yes certainly, having the advantage of a Couragious and a Conquering Army to force his way. You will find, that Hope hath Wings as well as Fear, and that the best Expedient is to yield to Fortune, and side with the strongest Party; for one who yieldeth hath much more reason to expect Pardon, than he that resists to the last. Reflect, I desire you, on the Kingdom; that 'twas got by the Sword, not by Birth; wherefore to yield up what was never your own, is not so great, so dishonourable a loss. And then may you justly call that your own which is conferred upon you by him, who can easily dispossess you of it. Whatever you attribute my boldness to, yet my advice I am sure is honest and necessary; and which, without delay, should be made use of. A Horse of good mettal, and a fiery Courage, is managed with a sight of the Whip, but a dull Jade is not concerned at the sharpest Spur.*

*Bessus* was naturally of a fierce and fiery disposition, and being heated with Wine, immediately drew his Scimetar, and could scarce be kept in, by his Attendants, from killing him. At last, being much intoxicated with Wine, and transported with rage, he withdrew, and *Cobares* making his escape in the Tumult, fled to *Alexander.* *Bessus* had 8000 *Bactrians* in his Army, who were

were well Armed, and ſo long as the ill weather made them conjecture, that *Alexander* would rather bend his courſe to *India*, than thither, they ſeemed very reſolute and Couragious. But no ſooner were they advertiſed that *Alexander* was upon his march towards them, but they ſhifted off, and deſerted *Beſſus* in the greateſt Exigence. He, with a few choſen Friends, who yet remained true to him, paſſed over the River *Oxus*, and after he had burnt the Boats, that the Enemy ſhould not uſe them, he began to make new Levies among the *Sogdians*. *Alexander* we left before juſt as he had paſſed over *Caucaſus*, where proviſion began to be ſo ſhort, that they were very near a Famine. Little or no Wheat was to be got; and the Juice, or Oyl of *Seſama* [a ſort of Corn in *India*] with which they anointed their Limbs, was ſold for 240 Deniers a Bottle, ſo much Honey for 390. as much Wine for 300. The Inhabitants have a Veſſel called *Syrus*, which they hid in the ground full of Corn, ſo cunningly, that without digging no one could find them out; ſo that the Souldiers were forced to eat Fiſh and Herbs, nay even thoſe too failed at laſt, and the Beaſts that brought their burthens were ſlain to ſatisfy their hunger. With this ſuſtenance they held out until they came into *Bactria*, which is a Country of a very various ſoil. Some places bear many fair Trees and Vines loaden with Fruit. The ſoil is fat and well water'd, the moiſteſt part they ſow, and the reſt they reſerve for Paſture. Then ſhall you ſee a great Tract of Barren Sands, and for a great way, not a Man or Houſe. This Sand is many times, by a Wind coming from the *Pontick* Sea, blown into heaps like Mountains, and then immediately

all

all the Roads and Paths are quite cover'd, so that the Travellers there, like Mariners, steer their course by that of the Stars, which generally make the night lighter than the day, wherefore in the day time the Country is wild and unpassable, having no light, or indeed Paths to travail in; besides to, if that Wind happens, all Travellers are inevitably lost in the Sand. But where the Country is Inhabited, and the ground fruitful, there are abundance both of Men and Horses, so that the *Bactrian* Horse amounted to 30000. *Bactra* is the Metropolitan City, and is situated under the Hill *Parapamissus*; by the Walls runs a River which gives its name to the City, and the whole Province. Here the King Encamped, and had news brought to him, that the *Arbenians* and *Laconians* were revolted, and at the coming away of the Messengers, were not subdued. Another unwelcome Message was brought to him, that the *Scythians* beyond *Tanais*, were bringing succours to *Bessus*. At the same time also he had the proceedings of *Caranus* and *Erigius*, who had fought a Battle with the *Arians*, under the Command of *Satibarzanes*; who in the midst of the Fight, seeing the Victory very dubious, set Spurs to his Horse, and rushed into the Front, and taking of his Helmet, he Commanded them to leave of throwing Darts, and Challenged any Man of the *Macedonians*, to fight him hand to hand, promising to fight Bare-headed. The boldness of the Enemy presently provoked *Erigius*, a Captain in *Alexanders* Army, who though old, yet for Strength and Courage was young. He immediately taking off his Helmet, and showing his Gray Hairs, *The time*, said he, *is come, when I shall show, what Friends and Souldiers serve* Alexander;

der; *either by a glorious and honourable Death, or a very memorable Victory.* And presently set Spurs to his Horse, and ran upon his Enemy. This so amazed both Armies, that a Man would have thought they had agreed, in the midst of a Battel, to lay down their Arms; for they retreated to give them space, and very intentively waited for the event, as if the decision of the whole matter depended upon it. *Satibarzanes* threw the first Dart, which, with a little nod, *Erigius* avoided, and with his Javelin wounded him so in the Throat, that it came out behind. This bore him off his Horse, yet still did he resist, but *Erigius* drawing the Dart out of his Throat, stuck it into his Mouth. The *Barbarian* himself, to end his pangs the sooner, with his own right hand helped the thrust, and dyed immediately. The *Arrians* straight, having lost their Commander, whom they followed more out of necessity than their own inclination, and calling to mind the kindness of *Alexander*, submitted themselves to the mercy of *Erigius*. The King was very joyful at this success, and though he was something concerned at the *Spartans*, yet bore it of, and boasted bravely, that they durst not rebel till they were sure that he was in the fartherest parts of *India*. Then did he proceed in his pursuit of *Bessus*, and *Erigius* in his Journey met him, and laid the Trophies of his Victory at his Feet.

After some stay, he chose out a Band of Men, and by night began to march into the Desert Country of the *Susitanians*, after he had made *Artabasus* Governour of *Bactria*, and committed all the Baggage into his care. The great scarcity of Water in this place, possest them with the impossibility of getting any, sooner than they really

ally wanted it. For the ſpace of at leaſt 400 Furlongs not the leaſt ſign of Water or any moiſture appear'd, but the Sand was ſo hot with the continual Sun lying upon it, that it ſcorched all things near it like fire it ſelf: This inconvenience brought another; for the prodigious heat cauſed a Miſt, and obſcur'd the light, ſo that the Fields appeared like the main Ocean.

By night the Journey was ſomething tolerable, for the Morning dew, and the abſence of the Sun, refreſhed their languiſhing Bodies, but no ſooner did day appear, but they were again tormented with heat, ſo exceſſive, that all their natural moiſture was dried up, and their Mouths and Entrails inflam'd. In this condition they remained till many fainted, for it was equally as hard for them to ſtand ſtill, as to go forward. A few there were, who by the aſſiſtance of ſome of the Natives, found a little Water; but this, though at firſt it allayed their thirſt, yet in a little time it was the more inflamed, and they the more impatient. In this extremity they drank up all the Wine and Oil which they had with them, and that in ſuch quantities, that it took away the fear of thirſt for the future. But ſo diſordered were they with the exceſs, that they could not march forward, nor ſo much as carry their Armour, inſomuch that they who had not yet at all eaſed their thirſt, ſeemed far happier than thoſe who were forced to vomit up the moiſture which they ſwallowed ſo greedily. In this great danger the Kings Attendants deſired him not to neglect himſelf, nor let his ſorrow for them make him unmindful of his Royal Perſon, who as he had been in all others, ſo in this danger was like to prove the only remedy, by gi-

ving a good Example, with what ſpirit they ought to undergo it. As they were thus adviſing him, two of thoſe who were ſent to place the Tents, came with Water in Veſſels for their Children, whom they knew very well to be intollerably tormented with the drought. But one of them, ſince they were thus met by the King, opened a Bottle, and filling a Cup offered it to him. *Alexander* demanded whom they brought it to, and receiving Anſwer, that it was for their Sons, he returned the Cup again with this Anſwer. *As much,* ſaid he, *as I am tormented with thirſt, yet can I not ſuffer my ſelf to drink alone, nor can ſo ſmall a quantity be divided amongſt all. You therefore that have thus laboured for your Children, make haſt and give it them.*

About the Evening he arrived at the River *Oxus*, but the greateſt part of the Army were left behind; but that they might find their Companions, he ordered great Fires to be made on a high Mountain. He Commanded alſo thoſe who kept pace with him to refreſh themſelves, and then to return, with Water in Veſſels, to relieve thoſe that were behind. Some that drank immoderately ſurfeited and died immediately, and the number of them was greater than ever he had loſt in any Battel. The King himſelf, before he either put off his Armour, or taſted Meat or Drink, ſtood to ſee his Souldiers march, nor could the night, or any perſwaſions, make him take any care of himſelf, till he had ſeen every Man in the Camp. The next day too, he appeared as much concerned, becauſe he had not convenience of paſſing the River, nor indeed could any be provided, by reaſon of the barrenneſs of the Soil. But neceſſity ſoon put into his mind a

ſtratagem

ſtratagem to paſs over his Army, for ſtuffing Hides with Straw they ſwam over, and ſuch as firſt went over, were inſtead of a Harbour to the reſt, till they came ſafe to ſhoar; and thus in ſix days he got over his whole Army.

Immediately he reſolved to purſue *Beſſus*, but that he received news of his affairs among the *Suſians*. How impoſſible it is for a Traytor to be reclaimed by any kindneſſes, here we have an inſtance in one *Spitamenes*, a Man, whom above all the reſt of his Friends, *Beſſus* both honoured and loved; though in him indeed the Treaſon was, if at any time, excuſable; becauſe it was againſt one who had Murthered his Royal Maſter. They had a very ſpecious pretence to juſtify the Villany, which was to revenge the Death of *Darius*, though indeed it was the Fortune of *Beſſus*, not his Crimes, which they envied. As ſoon as *Spitamenes* heard that *Alexander* was on that ſide *Oxus*, he endeavoured to bring over *Dataphernes* and *Catenes* to his ſide, in whom *Beſſus* chiefly confided, he accompliſhed his deſign with eaſe, for he found them more ready to ſide with him than he expected; whom with eight more ſtout Men he ingaged in this Conſpiracy. *Spitamenes* applying himſelf to *Beſſus*, ſecretly informed him, that he not only detected *Dataphernes* and *Catenes* in a Conſpiracy againſt him, to yield him up alive to *Alexander*, but alſo that he had ſecured them, and that they were bound in Priſon. *Beſſus*, after he had given him the thanks he thought due to ſo good ſervice, being deſirous to ſee them Executed himſelf, Commanded them to be brought before him. They accordingly were brought, with their hands ſo tyed behind them, that they could undo them

when they pleaſed; *Beſſus* beheld them with a Countenance which threatned no leſs than preſent Death; but now they thought it high time to diſſemble no longer, wherefore they immediately ſurround him, and taking the Kingly Diadem from his Head, and tearing the Royal Robe which *Darius* himſelf had often worn, they bound him, notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance he could make. *Beſſus* reflecting then upon his Condition, confeſſed, that the juſt revenge of the Gods had overtaken him; that they indeed had great reaſon to revenge their Emperours Death, yet the Juſtice of that would not countervail the kindneſs they did to the common Enemy *Alexander*; whoſe Fortune had always cauſed his very Enemies to forward his Victories. Whether his Souldiers would have revenged his misfortunes or no, is uncertain, but whilſt they were wavering, *Spitamenes* and the reſt, applyed themſelves to them, and aſſured them, that what they had done was the Command of *Alexander* himſelf; by which means he frighted all into an approbation of the deed. *Beſſus* was ſet upon a Horſe, and ſent to meet *Alexander*, who at that time choſe out about 900 Men, who were grown almoſt unfit for ſervice, and gave the Horſemen two Talents, the Footmen 3000 Deniers apiece, with a Command to return home, and get Children, to do him as good ſervice as they had done. The reſt he thanked very heartily, that they promiſed him their aſſiſtance till the end of the War. At a ſmall Town whoſe Inhabitants were called *Branchidans*, *Beſſus* was brought unto him. Theſe people were originally *Græcians*, for *Xerxes* formerly, becauſe they ſpoiled the Temple *Didymaon*, at his order, cauſed them

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to be tranſported from *Miletum*, a City of *Greece*, hither, for a Colony. Their Country Cuſtoms were not wholly laid aſide among them, nor their Speech, tho' much mixed and confuſed with that of the Country. Theſe yielded themſelves and their City into the hands of *Alexander*, and received him into it with the greateſt expreſſions of Joy imaginable. The King commanded all their Country-men who ſerved under him, to come before him, leaving it to them to determine, whether they would uſe them either as their Country-men kindly, or as Traytors to it (for which Treaſon he knew his Souldiers bore them an ancient grudge.) The opinions of the Souldiers were very different, ſo that then he declared he would the next day undertake to give his advice what was beſt to be done: The next day they accordingly met.

The *Branchidæ* came out to meet him, with whom and a choice Detachment he went into the Gate of the City: The *Phalanx* in the mean time had command given to ſurround and raze the Walls of a City which had been an Harbour for Traytors to their Country: and not ſo only, but to put every man to the Sword. There were they miſerably ſlain without the leaſt compaſſion; nor could their Tears or Prayers which they ſpake in a Tongue ſo near their Enemies, prevail at all, but every man was kill'd, and the City ſo demoliſhed, that the leaſt ſign of it ſhould not remain either a Monument of their Treaſon or his Cruelty. Which ſtopt not here, but extended it ſelf to the Groves wherein they performed their Sacrifice, which they rooted up, and of a pleaſant and fruitful place they made a vaſt and ſolitary Deſart. Which Action; if

conſidered in all its circumſtances, muſt needs appear no leſs than Cruelty; for if it had been inflicted on the very Actors, it had been but juſtice; but as it was upon thoſe, not one of which ever ſaw *Miletum*, or were in a poſſibility of pleaſing *Xerxes*, it cannot be termed leſs than a bloody and cruel act. From hence he went on to *Tanais*, *Beſſus* being carried all along not bound only, but naked alſo. *Spitamenes* himſelf led him, having a Chain about his Neck, whoſe villany made his misfortune a grateful Object both to the *Macedonians* and his Country-men the *Barbarians*. *Spitamenes*, when he came to the preſence of *Alexander*, he thus ſpake. *Having had the Honour*, ſaid he, *of revenging two ſuch Royal Maſters, as your ſelf and* Darius, *I here preſent you with the odious and execrable Traytor in that very poſture in which himſelf murthered his former Prince. O that the Ghoſt of* Darius *could now behold this ſpectacle, who is as worthy to ſee it, as he was unworthy of that unnatural death which he ſuffered.*

*Alexander* having praiſed *Spitamenes* as much as ſo brave an Action deſerved, turned himſelf to *Beſſus*, and thus ſpake to him. *How far*, ſaid he, *hath thy unnatural Treaſon and Cruelty exceeded that of the moſt ſavage Beaſts thy Country ever bred, who couldeſt dare firſt to bind a King, ſo careful of, and kind to all his Subjects, and you in particular, and afterwards baſely to murther him? But aſſure thy ſelf, for that, and uſurping the Title of King, thou ſhalt receive a juſt recompence from me.* *Beſſus* was as unwilling as unable to ſay any thing in his own defence, more than that if he had omitted that Opportunity, ſome body beſides would have made uſe of it, and perhaps not with that deſign he had done it, of delivering the Country

unto

unto him without the hazard of a Battel. *Alexander* called for a Brother of *Darius*, named *Oxatres*, who was always near his Perſon, and delivered *Beſſus* to him, that he might cut off his Ears and Noſe, and nailing him to a Croſs, his own Country-men were to ſhoot him to death, and his Body to be kept, as if it was too vile to be devoured even by Beaſts or Birds. *Oxatres* promiſed to ſee the Kings Command executed, adding, that *Catenes* was the only man who could keep his Carcaſs from the Birds: This *Catenes* was a man whoſe Art was ſo great in ſhooting, that he could kill Birds in their flight, which *Oxatres* had a mind to make known; for tho' in that Country where that Art is ſo much practiſed, and in which they are generally well skill'd, it may not be ſo much admir'd; yet it did appear very ſtrange to thoſe who beheld it, and was a great Credit to the performer. Laſtly, he gave Rewards to all who aſſiſted at the taking of *Beſſus*, but defer'd his Execution, that it might be performed in the very place where his horrid Villany was committed.

In the mean time a party of *Macedonians* going out to forrage, and being out of Order, were ſet upon, and ſome kill'd, but more taken Priſoners by the *Barbarians*, who driving their Captives before them, retired into the Mountains. There were a company of Robbers, to the number of 20000. whoſe way of fighting was with Slings and Arrows: *Alexander* beſieged them, and in a Battel venturing himſelf in the formoſt Rank, was wounded in the Leg with an Arrow, and carried back to his Tent by the ſorrowful and dejected *Macedonians*. The *Barbarians* could eaſily diſcern the paſſages of the Fight from a high

Mountain, wherefore ſending Embaſſadours the next day, they were introduced to the Kings Preſence: He, to take away their apprehenſions of the greatneſs of the Wound, took off his Maiſters, and ſhewed his Leg to them, which when they ſaw, they having leave to ſit down, they aſſured him, that his own Souldiers could not be more concerned at the Wound than they were, which to evince him of, they added, that could he be diſcovered who ſhot the Arrow, he ſhould immediately be delivered up to him; that they lookt on themſelves little leſs than ſacrilegious Perſons, as having fought againſt one whom they did not ſtick to place among the Gods themſelves: Therefore they came to ſubmit themſelves and their Country to his protection, into which he received them, having taken Pledges of their Fidelity. After this, he moved his Camp, and was carried from place to place in a Litter, which cauſed a contention between the Horſe and Foot who ſhould carry it. The Horſe alledged that becauſe he uſed to fight among them, they ought to wait on him in that condition. The Foot, that ſince it was their Duty to take care of all the wounded men, that Office, without manifeſt injuſtice, could not be taken away, when the King himſelf was to command their Service. *Alexander* in ſo warm a Diſpute, was not willing to give any diſcouragement to either ſide, by giving a definitive ſentence againſt it; wherefore he ordered, that they ſhould carry him by turns. From thence in four days he came to *Maracanda*, a City, the Walls of which are 70 Furlongs in compaſs; the Caſtle is not ſurrounded with a Wall: he left a Gariſon in it, and quite laid waſte all the Villages round it. In this place

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he had an Embaſſage from the *Scythians*, called *Abians*, who offered their Service to him, tho' ever ſince the Reign of *Cyrus* they had been a Free State. They were the moſt civilized of all the *Barbarians*, and not accuſtomed to War, unleſs highly provoked. The great Liberty they enjoyed, they uſed ſo ſparingly, that the inferiour ſort were as happy as thoſe in the higheſt Command. *Alexander* uſed them very civilly, and ſent *Penidas*, one of his Attendants, to the *Scythians* that inhabited *Europe*, to fore-warn them, that without his Command they ſhould not paſs the River *Tanais*. *Penidas* was likewiſe ordered to make ſome Obſervations in the Scituation of the Cities, and not ſo only, but of the other *Scythians* living near the *Boſphorus*; and to chooſe out a piece of Ground upon the bank of the *Tanais*, where he might build a City when he came there, for a Monument of the extent of his Conqueſts. But a ſudden miſchance altered this Reſolution, for the *Sogdians* were revolted, and had drawn likewiſe the *Bactrians* into the Conſpiracy: There were no fewer than 7000 Horſe, who were the chief promoters of it, and induced the reſt to ſhare their Fortune. The King caus'd *Spitamenes* and *Catenes* to come to him, intending to try their Loyalty in appeaſing the Sedition, ſince they had given ſo good proof of it, by delivering *Beſſus* up to him. Theſe men, to whom the truſt of ſubduing the Rebels was committed, proved the very Authors of it; for at their arrival at the Army, they gave out that *Alexander* had aſſembled all the *Bactrians* with no other deſign but to put them all to the Sword, which they were to put into Execution, but that they could not but abhor any ſuch Cruelty againſt

their

their Country-men, and could no more bear with the bloody intention of *Alexander*, than the horrid Treason of *Bessus*. By which story they created a great fear and abhorrence of *Alexander*, and easily engaged them to take up Arms, who were already come together for that purpose. In the mean time the second Revolt of the Runagates was known to the King. Wherefore he Commanded *Craterus* to lay Siege to *Cyropolis*, and himself took another by storm; wherein he put all the Youth to the Sword, and made the rest Prisoners of War. The City he quite demolished, that others by its Example, might continue in their obedience. But there was a Warlike People in the Country called *Memaceni*, who determined to endure the last extremity of an Assault, not only because they thought it the most brave and generous, but the safest way too. The King to mitigate their obstinacy, sent fifty Horsemen to argue with them, and satisfy them by many Examples, both of his Mercy to those who yielded, and his severity to those who withstood him. All the Answer they received was, *That both the Prowess of the King, and his Constancy too, was known to them.* After they had Conducted them without the Fortification, and with all the shew of kindness entertained them noble till the night came on, they set upon them, being overcome with Wine and Sleep, and slew every Man.

*Alexander* resented the affront as highly as it deserved, and streight laid a formal Siege to the City, which because he found too strong to be taken by a weak Attacque, he Commanded *Perdiccas* and *Meleager*, who were Beleaguring *Cyropolis*, to raise the Siege, and come and join his Army.

Army. This he did, because he had a mind to save *Cyropolis* for its Founders sake, for whom, and *Semiramis*, he had a peculiar veneration and esteem above all the Princes in the World, because he look't on their greatness of Mind, and Heroick Actions, to surpass all he had heard of. But the obstinacy of the defendants so enraged him, that after he had taken it, he left the *Macedonians* to destroy it, who had reason enough to be incensed against the Inhabitants; He himself marched with *Meleager* and *Perdiccas*, to continue the Siege of *Cyropolis*. No City, since the beginning of the War, made a braver resistance than this did; for in it *Alexander* lost the flower of his Army, and his own Person was in no small danger. For he received such a blow on his neck with a stone, that his Eyes were quite dazled, and he fell down without any sign or appearance of Life. A mournful cry was heard throughout the whole Army at his fall; but his Anger then added to his natural Vigour and Courage, and caused him to appear more fiercely, and carry on the Siege more incessantly than before; Wherefore they sprung a Mine, and that took such effect, that a great breach was made in the Wall, by which they entred, and were Commanded utterly to destroy the City. In the mean time *Spitamenes* had come to *Maracanda*, and though the Citizens consented not, yet they durst not contradict him. He drove out the *Macedonian* Garrison. Wherefore *Alexander* sent *Menidemus* with 3000 Foot, and 800 Horse, to put a stop to his proceedings. *Alexander* himself went to the River *Tanais*, and inclosing so much ground as his Camp had taken up, he built a Wall round it, and such Expedition did he shew,

that

that in seventeen days after the Foundations were laid, the very Roofs of the Houses of a City were finished, which he called *Alexandria*. Nay, the whole work was done in a short space, by reason of the emulation of the Souldiers; who should do the task they had set them first. He placed here some of their Captives, giving every Souldier the full ransome of his Prisoner, whose Posterity still inhabit here; so much favour did they find in that Country for *Alexander*'s sake.

But the King of *Scythia Europæa*, lookt on that City to be built by the Enemy, as a Curb to his Power, and sent his Brother, called *Carta-sis*, with a great Army of Horse to raze it, and drive the *Macedonians* farther from the shoar of the River. The River *Tanais*, which divides *Europe* from *Asia*, parts *Bactria* also from *Scythia Europæa*, which Country reaches near to *Thrace*, and from thence stretcheth it self from the East toward the North, being it self a part of, and is not, as some think, bordering only on *Sarmatia*; straight forward it meets with another Nation, near, but beyond the River *Ister*. It is extended Northward to the fartherst part of *Asia*, in which places are great thick Woods, and vast solitary Desarts, but those who dwell near *Bactria* and *Tanais*, are not so barbarous as the rest of their Nation. With this vast people was *Alexander* about to begin a War, for which he was altogether unprovided; though that arose more from his own disposition, than the fear of his Enemies Valour, for even while they were in sight of him, he was forced to ride about before his Wound was Cured, which much obstructed the Organs of his Speech, and hindred him from eating; nevertheless, he called his Counsel, and told

told them, complaining, That the Juncture of affairs was very unfortunate, that while he was to ingage with the *Scythians*, the *Bactrians* rebelled; and what was worſt of all, that he was neither able to appear on Foot or Horſeback, to give the word of Command, or encouragement to his men; for which he abſtained not from complaining of the Gods, that he, whoſe Expedition none yet was able to eſcape or equal, muſt by their appointment ly idle and unconcerned. He was afraid his Men would ſcarce be perſwaded but his illneſs was feigned. So great an alteration at laſt did the apprehenſion work in him, that though ſince *Darius* was intirely vanquiſhed, he had quite neglected all ſort of Divination, yet now his ſuperſtition again increaſed, and he Commanded *Ariſtander* (to whom he gave the moſt credit) to Sacrifice and foretel the event of the buſineſs. The manner of the Country was, that the Prieſt only ſhould inſpect the Entrails of Beaſts, and relate their interpretation to the King; which while he was doing, he ordered his Friends to come nearer to him, leaſt by ſtraining to ſpeak too loud, he ſhould make his Wound break out afreſh. *Epheſtian*, *Craterus*, *Erigyus*, and the reſt of his Attendants, were admitted into his preſence, and he thus ſpake.

*How much to my diſadvantage, and the advantage of mine Enemies this danger hath ſurpriſed me, you cannot be ignorant, but in War I have known long ſince, that opportunity is not always to be choſen; but reaſon and good advice, muſt yield to urgent neceſſity; The* Bactrian *Rebels, in whoſe Territories we ſhall fight, by anothers Fortune may gueſs their own, and be Judges of our Courage. If we turn our backs*

*of*

of the Scythians who have provokt us, how shamefully shall we march against the revolted Bactrians; But if we pass Tanais, and make the Scythians feel, by dear Experience, that we are Invincible, not in Asia only; it is not to be doubted, but that Europe it self, as well as Asia, will come within the bounds of our Conquests. He's deceiv'd who thinks this one River the limits of our Glory, which when we pass over, we will extend over Europe it self: And who doth not desire such a Victory by which we shall join places in our Kingdom, so far divided by nature, and for which we shall set up Trophies in another Conquered World. And should we now delay to set upon the Scythians, they infallibly will assail us; for we are not the only persons that can pass Rivers; others no doubt can do it, and turn our own stratagems against our selves. Those very Men whom we overcome, we make expert Souldiers. The way of getting over a River on Bottles, we have so lately put in practice, that should the Scythians be ignorant of it, the Bactrians will without doubt instruct them in it. Besides too, as yet, the Nation we are to engage is single, but may in a little time expect potent Auxiliaries, so that by shunning we encrease our danger, and where we may invade now, we may be invaded. I think the reason of my advice is very plain and evident, but whether my Macedonians will now suffer their King to do as he pleases, or not, is uncertain, since for some time, I have not been in a Condition to visit them, either on Foot, or Horseback. Let be but willing, my Friends, to follow me, and I am well; find you your ancient Courage, and I yet will find strength for this undertaking; Or if it fail me, and the end of my Life be approaching, in what better time can it come upon me, but in this brave and noble undertaking.

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The latter part he ſpake ſo low, that thoſe who ſtood next to him could ſcarce hear him, which made many endeavour to diſſwade him from ſuch deſperate Advice; *Erigyus* eſpecially attempted him by Superſtition, which he thought likelier to work upon his Obſtinacy, than what Authority he could interpoſe, and told him what he had heard of *Ariſtander* as he entred the Tent, that the very Gods were againſt his Journey, and the prediction of the Sacrifice was very ominous. This Advice affected the King equally with ſhame and anger, that his Superſtition, which he endeavoured to conceal, was now detected; ſo that calling for *Ariſtander*,, and fixing his eyes on him, ſaid, *Know that I am no private ordinary Perſon, but your Prince; and when I commanded you to do Sacrifice, why was the ill Omens declared to any but my ſelf? Muſt* Erygius *through your inadverſion know my Secrets, tho' 'tis fear I ſuppoſe made that interpretation of the Entrails? Wherefore you your ſelf ſpeak your thoughts, and let me hear if they agree with this Report.*

This ſo amazed the Soothſayer, that he was not able to bring forth one word; yet the ſame fear that kept him dumb, at laſt ſuggeſted the danger of being ſo long, leſt he ſhould provoke the King, at laſt, *I declared*, ſaid he, *that the attempt would be very hard and laborious, but not like to be fruſtrated; nor doth any ill which I can diſcover by my Art ſo much trouble me as your indiſpoſition, ſince I am well perſwaded how much we owe to you alone, and am much afraid that your weak Body will hardly anſwer the greatneſs and invincible magnanimity of your mind.* *Alexander* commanded him to retire, and truſt to his good Fortune; and while he was adviſing with the Council concerning the paſſage

paſſage over the River, *Ariſtander* returned, and ſaid, he had found a great alteration in the Sacrifice, it appearing now as fortunate as ever he had ſeen any, which gave as great an occaſion of hope, as the former had done of fear. Preſently after, News was brought (which was the firſt that ever he received of the interruption of his good Fortune) that *Menedemus*, who was ſent to beſiege *Spitamenes*, the Author of the *Bactrian* Faction, when he approached the City, was to paſs through a Wood; and *Spitamenes* being inform'd of his coming, was afraid leſt he ſhould be blockt up in the place, therefore lay'd an ambuſcade of *Dahæ* (two of whom ride upon one Horſe, and by turns fight on foot, and are generally as ſwift as Horſe-men) in that Wood, who ſurrounded *Menedemus* on all ſides at his entrance into it, which when he perceived, and that he was unequal in number, he encouraged his Souldiers to make a brave reſiſtance, aſſuring them that no hopes were left but to revenge their deaths by the ſlaughter of their Enemies. He himſelf rode on a ſtrong Horſe, whom with looſe Reins he ſpur'd on into the midſt of his Enemies, and made a great ſlaughter; but being very notable, he was aimed at by all, and beginning to faint for loſs of Blood, which guſhed out at many Wounds, he ordered *Hipſides*, one of his Friends, to mount his Horſe and flie: no ſooner had he ſaid that, but his breath ceaſed, and his Body fell from his Horſe to the ground.

*Hipſides* had indeed Opportunity to have fled, but he choſe to dye honourably with his Friend, only he was careful not to be unrevenged; ſo that ſetting ſpurs to his Horſe, he ruſhed into the thickeſt of his Enemies, and after a memo-

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rable resistance, he was at last slain by a multitude of Darts. The rest, after the death of their Commanders, gained the top of an Hill, whom *Spitamenes* intended to starve from thence. In this Battel were slain 2000 Foot, and 300 Horse. This loss *Alexander* very wisely kept secret, threatning present death to those that came from the fight, if they divulged the misfortune of their fellows.

But tho' they concealed the matter, and his countenance for a while did not alter, yet at last he retired into his Tent, which was on purpose built near the River side: Here he walked all Night, revolving in his mind many things, and many times had his Tent lifted up, to see the fires in his Enemies Tents, and guess, if he could, at the number of them. As soon as Day appear'd, he put on his Helmet, which was the first time he had been seen so by his Souldiers after the Wound he received. And this sight caused the danger, which before they dreaded, to vanish, so great veneration they had their King in. Wherefore with tears of Joy they welcomed him abroad, and now boldly desire the War, which so little a while before they declined. He promised that the *Phalanx* and the Horse should be transported in Boats, and the lightest armed upon Bottles. The exigence did not require, nor did his health permit him to say more. So great speed and diligence was used in making Boats, that in three days time no less than 12000 were finished; and when all things were ready for the Transportation, there appeared 20 Embassadours from the *Scythians*, on Horse-back, after the manner of the Country, desiring admission to the King, to whom they brought a Message. At

their introduction into the Tent, they fixed their eyes on the King, seeming to guess at his Courage and Valour by the bulk of his Body, which they could not believe so great as had been reported. The Natural endowments of the *Scythians* are not so rude and unpolished as the rest of the *Barbarians*; for some of them attain to some certain Rules of Prudence, as much at least as any Nation so Warlike is capable of. Their Speech to *Alexander* is recorded, in which, though there is not the Art which may be expected from a Orator, yet the Truth nevertheless is, and ought to be unquestionable: which as it is, shall be repeated as it was spoken by one of the chief of them. *Had the Gods given thee a Body equal to the largeness of thy Soul, the whole Universe would not contain it: With one hand thou wouldest gripe the East, and with the other the West; and after that desire to be equal with the Gods: For so now as well as then do you desire what is not possible either to get or keep. From* Asia *you go into* Europe; *from thence into* Asia *again. And should there want men to make War with, you give great reason to believe you would encounter Woods, Mountains, Rivers, and the very Wild Beasts themselves. Are you ignorant how soon a Tree of the longest growth, and most flourishing condition is destroyed? Who looks upon, and desires the fruit, and considereth not the height of the Tree? take heed lest when you have climbed to the top, and embrace boughs laden with fruit, you fall not with the beloved burthen, and that cruel you to pieces. The Lion himself hath been known a Prey to the least Birds, and rust consumes the sturdy Iron; and nothing is so firm, so sure, which may not be endangered by a far less thing than it self. Alas, we have had no Commerce with you, never desired, never sought*

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Country, and may we not enjoy our selves in our Woods and Desarts without seeing it? We cannot stoop to own our selves Subjects to any, nor do we desire any. The Presents we have brought, the Yoak of Oxen, the Plough, the Bow, and the Bowl are all you shall find with us. These we use in the Entertainment of Friends and Enemies. With the Corn we make Bread for our Friends, which with our Oxen and our own labour we prepare: With the Bowl we Sacrifice to our Gods: The Bows and Spears are our Offensive Weapons; the one we use at a distance, the other hand to hand. With these of old we conquered the King of Scythia, and after that, the King of Persia and Media, and by our Conquests laid our way open as far as Egypt. But why do you, who profess your self the Scourge of all Robbers and Thieves, and while you pretend to destroy them, steal from the Inhabitants whole Provinces. Lidya you have taken, with Syria, Persia, and Bactria, and now visit India; not aiming not to stretch out your ravenous hands to our sordid Cattel. Why do you still desire more Riches, every possession of which makes you covet more? Do you forget how much time you spent in subduing Bactria, which before compleated, the Sogdians conquered before, revolted again, to convince you, how great your Fortune is in conquering, yet the very Conquests administer more occasion for your Valour and Cares. For be as much above us poor ignorant People both in Fortune and Wisdom as your Pride can imagine, yet none of us will endure to be governed by a Foreigner. Pass now over the River, and you may easily view the vast extent of the Country, but never overtake the Scythians in their flight, whose poverty is not so great a burthen to them, as the spoils of so many rich Provinces are to you: And on the contrary, you shall find us in the Camp, while you

imagine us in flight; for anger makes us as swift to pursue, as fear to fly from an Enemy. We have heard that our Deserts are derided in your Country adages, but yet we delight in those more than in rich and populous Cities lying in fruitful Soils. Hold you your Fortune fast, for its inconstancy renders it incapable of being held against its own inclination: Put a Rein upon it to guide it. Our Country-men say Fortune to be without Feet, but when she putteth forth her Hand, none can surprize her Wings to clip them. Lastly, if you really are of Divine Race, as you say you are, be like a God, and bestow benefits on Mortals, and not take away what they have: But if you are a Man, then let that consideration of being as we are, humble your towring thoughts. For it is madness to have those things only in your thoughts which make you forget your self. You might have hopes of making those your Allies on whom you make not War. Between Potentates a League is generally inviolable; for they seem equal, that have not made trial of their strength; while a Friendship, if contracted, is seldom firm between Servants and those who have power over them; for even in Peace, he will be in a posture of Defence. Think not we observe an Oath so much, as to keep a League for it self, our observance of our Promise is sufficient Obligation to us. We leave that to you Greeks, who break your Leagues, and call the Gods to Witness. Our Religion consists in keeping our Word, and whoever has no reverence for Men, deceives the Gods; and we have no need of that Friend, whose Fidelity you may suspect. But as you may use as your Keepers, both Europe and Asia: For between us and Bactria is only the River Tanais, beyond which we inhabit as far as Thrace; to which, if Fame deceives us not, your Kingdom of Macedonia joyns. Since therefore

we

*border on this acquired, and your other Hereditary Kingdom, whether you will have us Friends, or Foes, leave to your mature consideration.*

Thus spake the *Barbarian*, and thus answered Alexander, *That he would still have some confidence in his Fortune, which hitherto he had found so favourable to him, though not so much as to neglect the advice of his Friends, least he should be esteemed rash and inconsiderate.* Then having dismist the Embassadors, he Embarkt his Army. In the Stern he placed those who bore Shields, and Commanded them to kneel, the better to keep off their Enemies Darts with their Shields. Next, there were placed those who had charge of the Engines, being surrounded on all sides with armed men; the rest being armed, defended those who rowed and steered the Vessels. The same order was observed by the Horse, only the Men drew over the Horses at the end of the Boat, by the Reins. Those who got upon the floating Bottles were in the middle, among the Boats. The King himself with a chosen Company, first set out, Commanding to steer directly cross. The *Scythians* stood their Horse just on the brink of the River, that they could not get the least opportunity to land; and besides the sight of their Enemies, great terrour seized on them as they passed over, for when they came into the Channel, the Boats could not pass it, the stream was so strong; that the timerous Souldiers, to save themselves from falling over-board, were a great hindrance to the Sailors; nor did they strive at all to offend their Enemies, taking more care to stand out of danger, than to throw Darts at them. Their Artillery did them great service, for their

Enemies ſtood ſo thick, that they ſeldom ſhot in vain. The *Barbarians* alſo ſhot many Arrows at them, ſo there was ſcarce one Shield that had not many holes in it. As ſoon as they came near the ſhore, thoſe Men who kneeled, roſe up, and then threw their Darts with more force and certainty, having the conveniency of good ſtanding; and perceiving their Enemy to give back, they encouraged one another, and Courageouſly leaped to ſhore; vigorouſly purſuing to encreaſe the diſorder of their Troops. By this time the Horſe too had Landed, and putting themſelves in order, brake the *Barbarians* Ranks; there, as faſt as they Landed, all prepared themſelves, being defended by thoſe that were ingag'd. The King himſelf ſupplied the weakneſs of his Body with the Strength and Courage of his Mind; for all might take Example by his Fighting, though by reaſon of the ſcar of his Neck, his Voice could not be heard; each private Soldier performed the Office of a Commander to his Fellow, and very furiouſly ſet upon their Enemies, without any regard to their own ſafety. This ſtout and force quite terrified their Enemies, ſo that they clapt Spurs to their Horſes, and fled, ſo the Army was all Horſe. Whom the King himſelf notwithſtanding the ſtate of his Body, followed for the ſpace of 80 Furlongs; where he began to faint, but ſtill ordered, that they ſhould purſue them till Night: But he returned to his Camp to refreſh his wearied Body. They purſued them to the bounds of *Bacchus*, in honour of whom were Erected Piles of Stone, and Trees Planted with Ivy ſurrounding the Trunk of them. Their anger continued their purſuit longer than the King Commanded, for they returned not till Midnight,

Midnight, and in it they kill'd many, but took more Prisoners, with 1800 Horses which they drove before them. Of the *Macedonians* 60 Horse, and 100 Foot were slain outright; and almost a 1000 were wounded. This Victory being reported in a very critical state of Affairs, kept all *Asia* in its obedience, which was almost upon revolting from *Alexander*: For when they saw the *Scythians*, whom they always lookt on as Invincible, overcome by the *Macedonians*, they then thought no Nation able to withstand them. The *Sacans* sent to acquaint *Alexander*, that they yielded themselves to his discretion, being not so much moved with the fear of his Valour, as the love of his good nature, manifested to the Conquered *Scythians*. For he remitted the Prisoners, without any ransome, but promise of obedience, declaring, that he sought the most valiant Nations to make trial of his Valour, not to exercise any Cruelty on the Conquered. He entertained the *Sacan* Embassadours with a kind reception, commanding *Excipinus*, a Favourite of his, to entertain them, who was a young Courtier in his Face and Body, much like *Hæphestion*, but not in pleasantness of Speech.

He then marched to the City *Maracanda*, leaving *Craterus* with the Body of his Army to come slowly after; from whence *Spitamenes* being informed of his approach, fled to *Bactria*. Wherefore the King, with hard travelling, in four days, came to the place where *Menedemus* and 2000 of his Souldiers were cut off. Their Bones he caused to be buried, and Funeral Solemnity to be performed after the manner of their Country. Here *Craterus* overtook him with the *Phalanx*, and he purposing to punish severely all that rebelled,

belled, divided his Forces, and Commanded them to burn their Corn, and put all the Children to the Sword.

The Province of *Sogdia* is for the most part very barren and unfruitful. For almost 80 Furlongs in length there are nothing but great Desarts. The River call'd by the Natives *Polymetum* runs the length of it almost. The River is but narrow, but the stream is very swift, and at length it gets under ground, where the course of it may be heard, but upon all the places it runs over, not one spring to be found. Many of these Countrymen being taken Prisoners, about thirty of very comely stature, and noble by Birth, were brought to the King; who, when by Interpreters, they understood that they were to be put to Death, began to sing and dance after their Country Fashion, and with lascivious gestures express much joy at it. The King admired, that they could so courageously hear the news of their Death, and sent for them back to know the cause of their unusual, and unseasonable gladness. They answered, That had they been to die by any others Command, they had had as sorrowful apprehensions of it as any Men; but since they were to suffer at his Command, who had Conquered all Nations, they, as all stout Men should, would welcome a glorious Death, with all the jollity of their Country. *Alexander* was surprised with the Courage of the Men, and upon this asked them, *If they could be so grateful to him, that would spare their Lives, as to be his faithful Subjects?* They answered, That they never were his Enemies, but as invaded by him to resist him; and if any one would make tryal of them in a civil way, and not a rough one, in that

that none ſhould be able to overcome them. Then he asked, *What pledge they would give of their Loyalty?* "Their Lives, they ſaid, which "as he ſpared on promiſe of Fidelity, ſo he might "require, when he pleaſed, on the ſuſpition of "the breach of it. Nor did they fail him, for thoſe who returned to the Country, kept their Fellows in obedience. Four of them he kept for his Attendants, who proved as true to him as any of his *Macedonians.* In *Sogdia* he left *Peucolaus* with 3000 Foot, for that was Garriſon ſufficient, and marched into *Bactria,* where he Commanded *Beſſus* to be brought to *Ecbatana,* to pay his Life, as a recompence, for the Murther of his Prince *Darius.* About this time *Ptolemeus* and *Menidas* brought 3000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, Mercenary Souldiers, *Alexander* alſo brought the like number of Foot, and 500 Horſe, from *Lycia,* as many came out of *Syria,* under the Command of *Aſclepiodorus. Antipater,* his Viceroy of *Macedonia,* ſent him 8000 Men, of which, 1500 were Horſemen. Thus was his Army recruited, and with theſe marched againſt the Rebels, puniſhing as they went, the fomenters of the Sedition. In four days he came to *Oxus,* which Water is always unwholſome to drink, becauſe it is always muddy and thick; ſo that the Souldiers were forced to dig Wells, where after all their digging no Water appear'd, but having obſerved, after ſome ſtay, a Spring in the Kings Tent, they immediately reported, that it aroſe on a ſudden, nor did the ſuperſtitious Prince, unwillingly believe it to be the gift of ſome pitying God. Having paſſed the Rivers, *Ochus,* and *Oxus,* he came to the [illegible] *Margiana,* round which he choſe a place to build ſix Towns in;

two

two he placed Southward, and four Eaſtward, a ſmall diſtance off, that they might the better aſſiſt one another upon an occaſion. All of them ſtood on Hills, deſigned as it were Curbs to the Neighbouring People. But now their own original is unknown to themſelves, and are ſubject to thoſe that formerly were under them.

Thus was all the Country quieted, and all things ſetled; one only Fortreſs remaining which was placed on a Rock: This was held by one *Arimazes*, a *Sogdian*, with a Garriſon of 3000 Men, who had proviſion laid up for two years. The Rock was thirty Furlongs high, and 150 round, being all Craggy, and no way to it but what was narrow and ſteep. About the midſt of it is a Den which is entred by a narrow hole, and ſo by degrees you come into the Apartments, which had Lodgings for great numbers. It wants not Water, having many Springs in it ſelf, which meeting together, and falling one into another, appear like a River. At firſt when the King ſaw the ſituation of it, he never deſigned to attempt it. But afterwards he had a great deſire of forcing the difficulties of nature. But before he would formally lay Siege to it, he ſent *Cophes* the Son of *Artabaſus*, to adviſe the *Barbarians* to yield up the place to him. *Arimazes* truſting to the ſtrength of the place, returns a proud Anſwer; and at laſt asked if *Alexander* had Wings to fly? This enrag'd him ſo much, that calling his Counſel, he told them, how inſolently the *Barbarian* had affronted him, adding, that before the next Night, he would make them think, that the *Macedonians* all had Wings. *Bring me therefore*, ſaid he, *three hundred of the nimbleſt young men out of all the army, who at home have been accuſtomed*

*customed to keep Flocks and Heards on the high Mountains.* They accordingly brought some that were Light and Valiant; whom the King looking upon stedfastly, *You,* said he, *are my Contemporaries, by whose assistance, I have demolished the Fortifications of many Cities; I have had you for my Companions, in travelling over Mountains, covered over with congealed Snow; in passing the Streights of Cilicia, and in bearing the cold of frozen* India: *In all these, you have given proofs of your Courage and Ability, and received some of mine. That Rock, you may observe, hath one passage, which alone the Barbarians guard, the rest is utterly neglected: For no Watch is placed any way but towards our Camp. You will, I question not, find a way to the top, if you diligently seek for it; for nature hath placed nothing so high, that it is out of the reach of Industry and Valour. By attempting what others durst not, we have made our selves Lords of all* Asia. *Go therefore, and scale the Mountain; and when you come to the top, hang out a Flag of white Cloth, which when I see, I will give an Assault, and divert the Enemies from minding you. He who first gains the top, shall have ten Talents, the second nine, and so in order shall the first ten be rewarded; though I am assured, that you look not on the reward which I propose, but my pleasure, that you should attempt it.*

With so great chearfulness and alacrity did they hear him out, that they imagined themselves on the top already; and as soon as they went from the Kings presence, they prepared Wedges to fix between the Stones, and Ropes to draw one another up. The King Commanded them to go at the second Watch, and chuse the place they thought the easiest to climb. They took Provision with them for two days, and Swords

and

and Spears, and so set out. At first they needed no help, but when it grew steep, they heaved one another up with their hands, and those who by the Wedges got up first, helped the rest with the Ropes. In this condition, between Labour and Fear, they spent a day, and though they had passed many difficulties, more remained, and the Rock seemed to grow higher and higher. 'Twas a sad sight to see those fall headlong who missed their footing, showing others what misfortunes they were lyable too. But at last, with great labour, they did gain the top, though some were wounded in many of their Limbs, and being very weary, at night they fell fast asleep, lying on narrow and craggy places, which danger, until they awaked, they were not sensible off. At last, when they awaked, they had the Prospect of the Valleys beneath; but they could not have found out in what part of the Rock the Enemy lay, had it not been for the smoke of their Fires. Then upon their Spears they placed the sign, and found, that in the ascent 32 had perished. The King was all this while as sollicitous to know the condition that they were in, whom he had exposed to so manifest a danger, as to take the place; so that all the day he watched the top of the Mountain, to see if they appeared, at night he retired to refresh himself, and in the Morning, before it was quite day, he was the first descried the sign upon the top of the Rock; but he was afraid at first, lest his Eyes might deceive him, because the Sky was not clear, which doubt, when it grew clearer, quite vanished; Therefore he called *Cophes*, who had tryed them before, and Commanded him to advise them at last to take his Counsel, and Surrender, adding,

that

that if they refuſed, he ſhould ſhow them thoſe on the top of the Mountain. *Cophes* began to lay before *Arimazes*, how much he would gain the Kings Favour, if he would yield the place, and not ſtay him, in Beſieging it, who had ſo great deſigns to accompliſh. The ſecond Meſſage encreaſed his Pride ſo, that he Commanded him to be gone. But *Cophes* taking him by the hand, deſired him to walk out of the Den, which when he had done, he ſhowed him the Men on the Mountain, and alluding to his former Meſſage, told him, That now he might be ſatisfied, that *Alexanders* Souldiers had Wings upon occaſion.

By this time alſo a great ſhout was heard in the *Macedonian* Camp: Which thing terrified the *Barbarian* ſo, that he ſurrendred: For their fear would not ſuffer them to mind the ſmall number of Enemies behind them. Wherefore calling *Cophes* back, whom at firſt they diſmiſſed, they deſired that thirty Officers might be ſent, to capitulate and take poſſeſſion of the place, after they had leave to depart in ſafety. The King at firſt feared, that they ſhould diſcover the fewneſs of thoſe on the top, and fall upon thoſe he ſent; yet truſting to his Fortune, and being enraged at *Arimazes* his Pride, returned Anſwer, That he would not accept of any Conditions in their Surrender; ſo that *Arimazes* looking upon his condition as more deſperate than it really was, with moſt of the Commanders came down to *Alexanders* Camp, all whom he ordered to be ſcourged, and after to be hang'd up at the foot of the Hill. The Priſoners he ſent to inhabit the new built City, beſtowing upon them all the Money he found in it. *Artabaſus* was made Governour of the Rock, and all the Province lying round about it.

The

# The Eighth Book.

*Alexander* having done an Action that might make him rather much talkt of than carrying in it self any real greatness in subduing the Rock; and perceiving that he must needs part the Body of his Army, because the Enemies marcht up and down, scatter'd in Troops; he divided the *Phalanx* into three Parts, one whereof he gave to *Hephestion*, the other to *Cenon*, and the third he reserv'd to himself. But the *Barbarians* were of several inclinations, some yielded without trying their Fortune in a Battel, others were forc't to yield by Conquest; *Alexander* rewarding the submission of the former with the Estates and Fortunes of the latter: But the banisht *Bactrians* with 800 *Massagetan* Horsemen, wasted the Neighbouring Villages; to repress whose insolence, *Attinas* the Governour over those Parts, marcht with 300 Horse, little suspecting an Ambuscade which the Enemy had planted in a Neighbouring Wood, Ordering a small Party to drive some Cattel, that they might with the greater facility decoy them into the Snare. Straight *Attinas*, without observing any order, pursued hard after them, and passing the Wood, they that were hid broke out upon them, and cut off all his Men. *Craterus* inform'd of this Misfortune, came to his succour with all his Horse, but the *Massagetes* had

all

all escapt away. A thousand of the *Dahæ* fell opportunely into his hands, whom he slew, and put an end to the Rebellion. In the mean while, *Alexander* having once more subdued the *Sogdians*, came back to *Maracanda*, there *Berdes*, whom he had sent to the *Scythians*, that inhabit nigh the *Bosphorus*, met him, bringing in his Company the Embassadours of that Nation. *Phrataphernes* too who govern'd the *Massagetès* and *Dahæ*, that were not far distant, sent Embassadours to declare he was at *Alexander*'s Command. The *Scythians* profer'd *Alexander* their Kings Daughter for a Wife, but if he thought it below him, that he would please to permit the *Macedonian* Nobility to Marry the Noblest Virgins in their Country; withal telling him, their King, in Person, intended to come and wait upon him. *Alexander* gave both Embassadours a gracious Audience. Here he staid till *Ephestion* and *Artabazus* join'd him, and then marcht into *Bazaria*. Nothing can be a greater Argument of the Fertility of that Country, than the great quantity of stately Beasts that habitually range their Woods, which are wide and spacious, and withal delightful; water'd with refreshing Rivulets. The Woods are enclos'd with a Wall, and there are several Towers which the Hunters live in; in this Wood for the space of four Ages, had the Beasts been free from being infested with Hunters. *Alexander* coming into it, rous'd all the Game; amongst which, when a Lyon of a Prodigious bigness ran fiercely upon the King, *Lysimachus* (who reign'd after *Alexander*) being nigh him, began to present his Boar-spear at the Beast, whom the King pushing aside, told him, that he could kill a Lyon single as well as *Lysimachus*; for *Lysimachus* once

once before, at a Hunting Match in *Syria*, alone had kill'd a Lyon, but receiv'd a gripe that pierc't to the Bone in the left ſhoulder, which had like to have coſt him his Life. The King twitting him with this, did greater than he ſpoke, for he not only Encountred the Beaſt, but diſpatcht him at one blow: hence grew the Fable, that *Alexander* threw *Lyſimachus* to a Lyon, which I believe had its riſe from the ſtory we related a little above. But the *Macedonians*, though he had ſucceeded luckily in this Enterpriſe, yet were not pleas'd, that he ſhould venture his Perſon in ſuch dangers without a Guard of his Friends attending him. At laſt having ſlain four thouſand Beaſts, he with all his Army din'd in the Wood, and thence return'd to *Maracanda*. And diſpenſing with *Artabazus*'s excuſe, that he was grown old, he gave his Province to *Clitus*, who ſav'd the Kings Life when he fought Bareheaded at the River *Granicus*, defending him with his Shield, and cut off *Rhoſacis*'s hand, as he was lifting it up to ſtrike at the King. He was an old Souldier of *Philip*'s, and had ſignalized himſelf in many notable Exploits. *Hellanice* who had nurs't *Alexander*, and received as much honour from him as if ſhe had been his Mother, was this *Clitus*'s Siſter, upon this Account he intruſted him with the greateſt Command he had to beſtow, and the next day being appointed for his departure, he entertain'd him at a ſolemn Banquet; the King beginning to be heated, and being naturally very ſelf-conceited, began to brag of his Exploits, which how true ſoever, could not but be troubleſome to the Company. All the graveſt Perſonages ſat Mute, till he began to leſſen *Philips* worth, ſaying, That the noble Victory obtain'd

tain'd at *Cheronea*, was owing chiefly to his own Valour, and that his Father had by a malicious Policy, depriv'd him of the glory; and how that *Philip* receiving a Wound in a ſeditious uproar betwixt the *Macedonians*, and the Mercenary *Græcian* Souldiers, lay down, and diſſembling himſelf dying, found his fraud advantageous, for it made him come into his reſcue, and protecting him with his Buckler, killed thoſe that endeavour'd to come nigh him with his own hand; and that his Father never was willing, though indebted, to acknowledge himſelf any ways ſo to him that had ſav'd his Life. That he, without *Philip*, had made an Expedition into *Illyria*, and writ word to his Father concerning the manner of his Victory. That he did not think thoſe praiſe worthy who juſt enter'd on *Samothracia*, when they ſhould have ſubdued and laid waſt *Aſia*, but thoſe only, who by the vaſtneſs of their Exploits had exceeded credit. This Diſcourſe pleas'd the young Blades well enough, but to the graver Captains was not at all acceptable, for moſt of them had been Souldiers in *Philip*'s Army. Upon this account *Clitus*, who himſelf too was none of the ſobereſt, turning himſelf to thoſe who ſat below him, recited a Verſe of *Euripedes*, wherein he ſpeaks of the folly of the *Græcians*, who only inſcribed the Names of their Kings or Generals on their triumphal Arches, and uſurped that glory to themſelves which was purchaſed by the Blood of other men; the ſound rather than the words came to the Kings Ear, but the King ſuſpecting they talkt ſomething of him, demanded of thoſe that ſat nigh him, what it was *Clitus* ſaid. When they were ſilent, *Clitus* in a louder Voice began to relate all *Phillips* Acti-

ons, preferring the Wars he had performed in *Greece* before the preſent Wars. This Created a contention between the young and the grave Commanders. The King, as if he had ſhowed his Patience ſufficiently in hearing *Clitus* detract from his glory, conceal'd his diſpleaſure in expectation that *Clitus* would have waved the Diſcourſe, but ſeeing him continue in the ſame ſtrain, he grew more exaſperated. *Clitus* now was gone ſo far, that he began to defend *Parmenio*, and prefer'd *Philip*'s Conqueſt o're the *Athenians* to the deſtruction of *Thebes*. Being now teſty, as well as having got a Cup too much. At laſt, ſays he, *I am always the readieſt to lay down my Life for you, but they are likelieſt to ſerve you beſt who baſely ſtain the glory of your Fathers Atchievements. You indeed allot to me the Government of the* Sogdians, *who are in continual Rebellions, and not only as yet unconquer'd, but perhaps unconquerable. You ſent me amongſt a Company of Brutes, that neither care nor know what they do. But whatever injury you put upon me, I would paſs by, did you not contemn the old Souldiers and Servants of* Philip, *forgetting, that unleſs old* Atharias *had rallied theſe Youngſters you are ſo proud of, we had to this day been at* Halicarnazus. *I think it was true enough what your Uncle ſaid when he was in* Italy, *that he had to deal with Men, and you with Women.*

Nothing of all theſe raſh words more netled the King, than the honourable mention he made of *Parmenio*, but the King ſtill govern'd his Anger, and Commanded him to go from the Table, dreading nothing worſe, than if he ſhould ſtay there a little longer, he would hit him in the teeth with the ſaving his Life; but he delaying to go, thoſe who ſat next to him taking hold of him,

him, and withal chiding and praying him, endeavoured to lead him away. *Clitus* angry as well as in drink, cry'd out, that with his Breaſt he had defended *Alexander* when he turn'd his Back, and yet call'd all to witneſs how unworthily he was rewarded. And in fine, hinting the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whom *Alexander* reported he was related to, he told him, that he had ſpoke more true than his Father's Oracle; which ſo gall'd the King, that had he been ſober, he would ſcarce have endur'd it. But being overcome with Drink, he leapt from his ſeat; his Friends were ſo amaz'd at his ſudden motion, that they threw the Bowls out of their hands, inſtead of ſetting them orderly upon the Table, being intent to ſee what the Kings deſign was. *Alexander* ſnatching a Lance from his Armour-bearer, ſtruck at *Clitus*, who ſtill was going on with the ſame raſh Diſcourſe, but was hindred by *Ptolomy* and *Perdiccas* hanging about his middle, and ſtaying his Hand, whilſt *Lyſimachus* and *Leonatus* diſarm'd him. He call'd out for his Souldiers, ſaying, he was abus'd by his Friends, and was likely to meet with the ſame Fate as *Darius*, and commanded the Trumpet to ſound a Call. Then *Ptolomy* and *Perdiccas* falling down at his Feet, deſir'd him not to give way to ſo raſh a Paſſion, but to take a little time, that all things would be far better compos'd the next day. But his Rage had ſtopt his Ears, and running into the Porch of his Tent, he ſnatch'd a Spear from one of the Guard, and ſtood in the Paſſage by which they all were to paſs. They all went by; *Clitus* at laſt came out without a Light, whoſe Name *Alexander* demanded in ſo harſh a tone, as was ſufficient to diſcover the bloody mind of the

asker. And he now having forgot his own, was concern'd only for the Kings Anger, answering him, that he was *Clitus*; upon which, *Alexander* struck the Spear through his side, saying, "Go now "to *Philip*, *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*. It is the misfortune of most men only to look back on what is past, but never forward on what is to come. For the King, after his Passion was abated, and the heat, both that and his Wine had put him in, something allay'd, began, tho' too late, to perceive what he had done: He saw he had kill'd the Man who had sav'd him, and one that was a brave Captain, tho' a little unable to govern his Tongue: He saw that he who was a King, had debas'd himself to the Office of an Executioner, and had reveng'd words, which might be imputed to too much Wine, with a wicked Murther. He saw the place, where they were a little before making merry, all be-sprinkled with Blood. The Guards, like People out of their wits, were in a general consternation; and being alone, he had the more Opportunity to represent all things in the worst dress; therefore drawing the Spear out of the dead Body on the Floor, he went to strike it into his own, had not his Guards run to him, and disarming him, carried him into his Tent. He throwing himself on the ground, fill'd the Tent with his sorrow and lamentations, and tearing his Hair and his Face, he beseech'd those who stood nigh him, not to let him survive so base an action. Thus he continued all Night, and enquiring, if this had happen'd by the anger of the Gods, he found he had neglected to celebrate the Feasts of *Bacchus*, who had reveng'd himself by causing him to commit this deed in his Cups. But that which

increased

increaſed his ſorrow, was, to ſee all his Friends diſheartned, and ſo ſhy, as if they were afraid to ſpeak; he now ſuppos'd he muſt live like a Wild Beaſt in a Deſart, and dread ſome, and be himſelf a terror to others. Next Morning as ſoon as day appear'd, he commanded the dead Corps to be brought into his Tent, bloody as it was, which being ſet down, burſting out into tears, *Is this*, ſaid he, *the kind return I make to my Nurſe for all her favours, whoſe two Sons have already loſt their lives at* Miletum *to procure my Glory; and now too her Brother, the only comfort of her grey hairs, is kill'd by me at a Banquet; ſo that I alone of all ſhe has ſurvive, whom yet ſhe will ſcarce be glad to ſee, becauſe I am alone. Shall I, that have deſtroy'd my Preſervers, return home? How can I give her this Hand, which has been died in the Blood of one ſo nearly related to her?* But he ſtill perſiſting in his grief and complaints, his Friends ordered the Body to be removed. The King lockt himſelf up for three days, whom his Friends and Guards perceiving to be obſtinately bent upon his own deſtruction, broke in upon him, and had much ado to perſwade him, who was ſo ſet againſt it, to eat ſomething. But to alleviate the Kings Melancholy for the killing of *Clitus*, the *Macedonians* decreed him lawfully put to death, and would have hindred his Burial, had not the King commanded the contrary. Staying therefore ten days at *Maracanda*, meerly out of ſhame to ſhew his Face after ſuch an Action, He ſent *Hæpheſtion* with part of his Forces into *Bactria*, to get Proviſions for his Army; and gave the Province he had intended for *Clitus*, to *Amyntas*. He himſelf march'd directly to *Xenippa*, a Region hard by, conſiſting of a great

number of little Villages; the fruitfulneſs of the Soil being not only ſufficient to nouriſh the Natives, but to invite Strangers: Here the baniſh'd *Bactrians*, who fled from *Alexander*, were entertain'd. But when they heard of his approach, almoſt 2200 of them were forc'd by the Inhabitants to quit their Quarters, who meeting together, and being all Horſe-men, and uſed to the High-way in times of Peace, their fierce diſpoſitions were much heightened by their uſual Cruelty they formerly uſed to Travellers, and now by the deſperation cauſed by *Alexander's* approach. Therefore ſetting upon *Amyntas*, *Alexander's* Vice-gerent, the Victory was doubtful a long time: at laſt, loſing 700, of which three hundred fell into their Enemies hands, they fled, but not without doing conſiderable damage, for they had kill'd 80 *Macedonians*, and wounded 350. But yet after this ſecond Revolt, they obtain'd Pardon. Having reduced them to their Obedience, he came with his Army to a Region called *Naura*, where *Syſimithres* the Governour, with two Sons, whom he had by his Mother, (for Inceſt is uſual amongſt them) and two thouſand armed men, guarded the Straights with Out-works. A River ran on the back-ſide of the Rock, through which the Inhabitants had made a paſſage, the mouth of the paſſage was pretty light, the inner parts without a Torch were not paſſable; which running a great way under ground by ways unknown but only to the Inhabitants, carries them out into a Champain. But *Alexander*, though the *Barbarians* with a ſtrong band defended the Straights, which were by Nature a Defence to them, brought his Battering-Rams, and ſhook the Bulwarks that were next

his

his Army, and what with Stones, and what with Arrows, he beat down the greateſt part of the Defendants, when he had put them to flight, he mounted the Ruins of the Fortreſſes, and brought his Army nigher the Rock, but a River hindred their paſſage, falling with a ſwift current from a riſing ground, and it ſeem'd no ſmall Task to fill it up: But he commanded them to fetch Stones, and to hew down Trees. The *Barbarians*, unacquainted with ſuch ſort of things, ſeeing the work come forward, were ſtrangely daunted. Therefore the King thinking their fear might prevail upon them to yield, ſent *Oxartes*, one of his own Army (though their Country-man) to perſwade them to ſurrender the Rock, whilſt the King, to increaſe their fear, brought on his Towers, and ſhew'd the great Darts ready to be ſhot out of the Battering Engines, which they perceiving, climb'd up to the top of the Rock, the only place of ſafety that remain'd. But *Oxartes* approaching nearer, adviſed *Syſimethres*, who was quite diſmay'd, to ſurrender, telling him, it would be more advantageous for him to accept of the *Macedonians* kindneſs, than exaſperate their Valour, and not ſtubbornly to delay *Alexander*'s Journey towards *India*, leaſt by the ſame means he ſhould haſten his own deſtruction. *Syſimethres* was much inclined to hearken to the propoſal. But his Mother, who was his Wife too, told him, ſhe would rather die, than ſubmit by this means, boaſting that the King was inclined rather to a piece of Gallantry, not at all conſiſtent with his ſafety: He was aſham'd to ſee Women ſtand up more than himſelf in defence of Liberty; therefore diſmiſſing the Embaſſador, he reſolv'd to endure

the extremity of the Siege. But when he had duly conſidered his own weakneſs, and the ſtrength of the Enemy, he ſoon began to repent he had hearken'd to Female Counſellors; and calling back *Oxartes* in great haſte, he told him, he would ſubmit to the Kings Mercy, praying him not to take notice of what his Mother had ſaid, leaſt that might obſtruct his acceſs to *Alexander*'s favour: And upon this he and all his Family went out to *Alexander*, not ſtaying ſo much as to expect a promiſe of ſafe Conduct, which *Oxartes* had ingag'd himſelf to procure for them from *Alexander*.

The King ſending a Horſeman to deſire them to return, in a ſhort ſpace followed after, and offering Sacrifice to *Minerva* and *Victoria*, reſtored *Syſimethres* his Empire, promiſing him to enlarge his Dominions, on condition he would continue his Fidelity, and took two of his Sons, whom the Father had preſented to him, to follow him in his Wars. Leaving therefore the *Phalanx*, he made all the haſt poſſibly he could to reduce thoſe that had revolted. They for a good way travel'd over hard and ſtony ground, till at laſt the Horſes Hooſs wearing out, moſt of them were forc't to ſtay behind, and his Troops grew leſs and leſs all the way: The extream toyl they had endured in the Journey, prevailing more over the Souldiers minds, than the ſhame of being left behind; but yet the King changing Horſes, purſued the Enemies. All the young Nobility, who were his uſual Attendants, were weary, except only *Philip* Brother to *Lyſimachus*, newly come to Age, of a very generous diſpoſition, which then he firſt manifeſted. He follow'd the King on Foot for above 200 Furlongs,

longs, a thing perhaps that will ſtartle peoples Credit. *Lyſimachus* often offered him his Horſe, which yet he accepted not, but Accompanied the King, though tyr'd with the weight of his Armour. He, when they came into a Wood where the *Barbarians* had hid themſelves, gave teſtimony of an exceſſive Courage, defending the King who was fain to fight at diſtance with the Enemy; but as ſoon as the *Barbarians* were put to flight, his Courage that had ſuſtain'd him in the heat and danger of the Battel, left him at the appearance of Victory; and falling into a ſudden ſweat, he lean'd againſt the ſtump of a Tree, which ſupported him not long, for he ſunk down dead into the Kings Arms: The King being not a little concern'd at ſo ſad an Accident. *Erigius* was a Captain of great Reputation in the Army, and *Alexander* a little before his return, had heard he was dead; and therefore Celebrated both their Funerals with all Pomp and Solemnity.

Not long after he fixt his reſolution to attack the *Dahæ*, where he heard *Spitamenes* was entertain'd; but this he perform'd by a Deputy, Fortune being never weary of honouring him with her favours. *Spitamenes* had an exceſſive love for his Wife, who had been his continual Companion, both in his flight and baniſhment. She growing weary of continual Misfortunes uſed all her ſoft Arts to perſwade him not to fly, but rather to try *Alexander*'s Clemency, than ſtrive to eſcape his Power, and ſhewing him his three Children, deſir'd him for their ſakes to grant her requeſt. *Alexander* too himſelf, being nigh at hand, added an efficacy to her intreaties. He ſuppoſing himſelf not ſo much to be counſell'd

as

as to be betray'd, drew his Sword, thinking ſhe only ſaid thus, that being deliver'd to *Alexander* her Beauty might make her be taken notice of; And had not his Brother mitigated his rage, he had certainly diſpatcht her; but ſtill he Commanded her to go out of his ſight, threatning to be the Death of her if he ever ſaw her again, and to eaſe his paſſion, he ſpent his Nights amongſt his Miſtreſſes, whoſe cloying Careſſes did not ſerve to allay, but on the contrary more encreaſe his love towards his Wife: Therefore admitting her once more into his favour, he bid her be content to endure the ſame Calamities himſelf did, and earneſtly entreated her not ſo much as to mention a Surrender, that which Death it ſelf would be far more welcome. She uſed all her Rhetorick to clear her ſelf, telling him, that though perhaps ſhe had adviſ'd him things that he did not approve of, yet ſhe had done it with no ill intent; the Woman, not the Wife, was to be reprehended. *Spitamenes* wonderfully tranſported with her Flattery, reſolves to make merry, and prepar'd a great Banquet, where indulging himſelf too much, he was carried half aſleep into his Chamber, whom when his Wife perceiv'd to be quite doz'd, drew a Sword, which ſhe for that purpoſe had privily brought under her Mantle, and cutting off his Head, ſhe deliver'd it to a Servant, who alone was privy to the Enterprize; and thus attended, bloody as ſhe was, ſhe came to *Alexander*'s Camp, and ſent word to him, that one was come to ſpeak with him; he as ſoon as he beheld her Bloody, ſuppos'd ſhe was come to complain of ſome injury that had been offer'd her; She deſir'd that her Servant might be admitted, who being

being ſearcht by the inquiſitive Guards, ſhowed *Spitamenes*'s Head, but ſo chang'd with wanneſs and blood, that it was almoſt impoſſible to be known. The King being perfectly inform'd of the buſineſs, was much perplext in his mind: He knew that they had well deſerv'd of him who had remov'd a Turncoat and a Traytor, and one that had he liv'd, had like to have been a great diſturber of his proceedings; but yet on the other ſide, he ſcorn'd the baſeneſs of the Action, that a Woman ſhould kill a Husband that lov'd her ſo well, and one by whom ſhe had Children. The Horrour of the performance exceeded the Obligation. He therefore Commanded her to depart the Camp, leaſt ſuch an action might infect the nobler Spirits of the *Græcians* with the like Barbarity. The *Dahæ* hearing of *Spitamenes*'s Death, deliver themſelves, together with *Dataphernes*, his Brother-Traytor, into *Alexander*'s Power, who having now pretty well rid himſelf of his Enemies, began to look into his Army, and redreſs the wrongs of thoſe Souldiers who were impos'd upon by the Pride and Avarice of their Commanders; and upon this ſcore he deliver'd to *Phrataphernes*, the Government of *Hyrcania*, and the *Mardi* and *Tapuri*; and he Commanded him to ſend *Phradates*, whom he ſucceeded, to him. *Staſanor* was ſubſtituted Governour of *Caria*, in the place of *Arſamus*. *Arſaces* was ſent into *Media* to ſupply the place of *Oxidates*, and *Deditamenes* was made Governour of *Babylon* upon the Death of *Mazæus*.

Things being thus ſet in Order, after three Months ſtay, he remov'd his Army out of their Winter Quarters, marching towards a Region called *Gabaza*. The firſt day he had a very fair Journey;

Journey; the ſecond day, though not ſtormy, yet was lowring and obſcure, and ſeem'd not a little to threaten an impendent Storm. On the third day he was terrified with various Lightnings, and extream variable Weather, which not only amaz'd the eyes, but alſo the ſenſes of the Souldiers. There was abundance of Thunder, and many Thunder-bolts were ſhot from the Clouds, inſomuch that the Army forbore to march, and the Storm ſeem'd to have frightned away their Intellectuals; upon which a violent ſhower of Hail enſued, which at firſt they receiv'd on their Bucklers, till their hands growing numb'd, they were forc'd to let go their Arms, but yet could not ſee which way to travel; mean while the violence of the Tempeſt grew ſo great, that there was no poſſibility of avoiding it; therefore the whole Army went by Files up and down through the Wood, ſome rather for fear than wearineſs, fell down on the ground; and the ſhower as ſoon as it fell, was turn'd to Ice: ſome ſtood againſt the ſtumps and bodies of Trees, finding there at once a prop and defence; and they were in the Night to chooſe a fit place to expire in, when the Cold would let them live no longer: It was a grateful ſloth to them, that had been ſo weary with the Journey, to find an Eternal Reſt. For the Storm not only continued its vehemence, but alſo knew no abatement; and what by the ſhadineſs of the Woods, and darkneſs of the Air, the day ſeem'd turn'd to Night. The King only of all others was not daunted at this misfortune, but walkt round his Camp, lifting up them that were down, gathering thoſe that were rambling, ſhewing them the ſmoak which came from Chimnies at no great diſtance, and

adviſing

adviſing every one to take the nigheſt Refuge. Nor was there any thing more conducing to the preſervation of the Army, than to ſee the King, who had took more pains than any, yet the moſt unwearied of any; this made them aſhamed to be behind hand. But Neceſſity being more forcible than Reaſon, ſoon found a Remedy for the cold; for hewing down Trees with their Axes, they ſoon kindled ſeveral fires, ſo that you would think all the Wood had been on fire; ſo that there was ſcarce room enough left for the Army by reaſon of the flames. This ſoon enliven'd their benumb'd bodies, and their Blood began with more freedom to circulate in their Veins. Some were entertained in the little Houſes of the *Barbarians*, others lodg'd in their Tents, which, though wet, yet were more tolerable, becauſe the fury of the Storm ſomewhat abated. This unhappy Accident ſwept away above an hundred Souldiers and other Attendants of the Camp. They ſay, ſome were found ſtanding againſt Trees, not only as if they were alive, but as if they were talking to one another, ſtill remaining the ſame poſture which they were in when they dyed. It happen'd that a common Souldier, a *Macedonian*, burthened with himſelf and his Arms, came into the Camp, whom the King ſeeing, though he was warming himſelf by the fire, jumpt out of his ſeat, and taking the Souldiers Arms, bid him ſit down in his Chair: He for a good while together knew not where he was, nor how he was entertain'd; till at laſt coming to himſelf, and ſeeing himſelf in the Kings Place, and the King ſtanding by, being amaz'd, he haſtily roſe up, whom *Alexander* looking upon, ſaid, *Souldier, doſt thou underſtand*

*how*

*how much happier you live under me, than* Darius *his Souldiers under him? To them 'tis a Capital Crime to sit in their Kings Seat, but it has preserved thy life.*

The next day calling his Friends, and the chief Commanders of his Army together, he commanded them to proclaim, that he would restore all they had lost, and he was as good as his word; for *Sysimethres* brought many Horses, and 2000 Camels, and a great many Sheep and Oxen, which being distributed, at once recompenc'd the Souldiers loss; and satisfied their hunger. The King was pleased with the Gratitude of *Sysimethres*, and commanded his Souldiers to take with them six days Provision. Then marching towards the *Sacæ*, and destroying the Country, he sent 30000 Sheep to *Sysimethres*. Then he came into a Country, of which a Nobleman, *Cohortanus*, was Governor, who submitted himself wholly to *Alexander*'s disposal: He restor'd him his Government, and desired nothing more of him, than to let two of his Sons go with him to the Wars. The Noble-man upon this gave him all three, and entertain'd *Alexander* at a most splendid and sumptuous Banquet, at which he brought in thirty Noble Virgins, amongst whom was his Daughter *Roxane*, an extraordinary Beauty, and of a carriage so gentile, as perhaps was never met with amongst *Barbarians*; who, though she came with the rest, yet attracted all peoples eyes upon her self, especially the Kings, who knew less how to bridle his Passion when favoured by the smiles of Fortune, than at other times, which indeed Mortality is never proof against: Therefore he who had lookt upon *Darius* his Wife and two Daughters (to whom none could

could compare for Beauty, except *Roxane*) with no other Affection than that of a Father, was at this time so transported with the love of a young Maid, who, if compared to the former, was but ignoble, that he said, it was necessary, for the better establishing the Empire, that the *Persians* and *Macedonians* should joyn in Affinity, by this means to hearten up the conquered, and to bring down a little the Pride of the Conquerors. That *Achilles*, who was his Predecessor, had been in Love with a Captive; and that it should not be counted unlawful, he was resolv'd to make it a Law by his Example. Her Father, surpriz'd with sudden joy, took the King at his Word. And the King in the height of his Passion called for Bread (which was the most Sacred Oath amongst the *Macedonians*) which each of the Parties Offer'd when it had been divided with a Sword. I suppose by this Ceremony, they, who instituted it, intended to manifest how little was enough to be contented with. Thus the King of *Asia* and *Europe* married one that was presented to him at an Entertainment, to beget of a Captive a Son that should Command those who were Conquerors. His Friends were not a little displeas'd at it; but *Clitus* his death had sufficiently admonish'd them to have a care how they used too much Liberty.

But being now upon his Journey to *India*, and fearing to leave any thing behind him that might frustrate his Attempts, he ordered 3000 Young Men to be levied out of all his Provinces, and to be brought well armed to him; at once taking them for Souldiers and Pledges. As for *Craterus*, he sent him to pursue *Haustanes* and *Catenes*, who had revolted from him: *Haustanes* was taken, but

*Catenes*

*Catenes* was slain in the Battel: And *Polyperchon* reduced the Country called *Bubacene* to *Alexander*'s power. All things being thus setled, he set his thoughts wholly upon the *Indian* War. The Country of *India* is reckoned rich, not only in Gold, but all manner of Jewels, more for Luxury than Magnificence. The Souldiers shields shined with Gold and Ivory, their Bucklers were made of Silver, their Helmets, some of Gold, others of Silver. There were about 120000 armed men that followed the King to that War. And now all things being prepared, he at last began to put in execution what he had long been hatching in his Imagination, how he might be honoured as a God: Nor would he now be only called the Son of *Jupiter*, but had a great mind People should really believe he was so; affecting a Tyranny over the Souls as well as the Persons of his Souldiers. He suffered the *Macedonians* to worship him, and prostrate their Bodies on the ground before him, as the *Persians* did to their Kings. Nor were there wanting Flatterers enough to swell the King up with these idle imaginations; to whom Flattery often-times proves as pernicious as open Violence. Nor was this the fault of the *Macedonians*, who would not stir a step from their old Customs, but of the other *Græcians*, who by their debaucht Principles had corrupted all generous Discipline. *Agis* of *Argos*, that writ the worst Verses of any, except *Chœrilus* and *Cleo* the *Sicilian*, who was not only a Flatterer by disposition, but by birth, as most *Sicilians* are, and a great many more, that were the scum of their Cities, were promoted by the King before his Friends and the greatest Captains in the Army. These being got so high, made nothing to open Heaven

Heaven-gates to him, and make *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, *Caſtor*, and *Pollux* his inferiors. Upon a Holy-day he made a great Feaſt, to which the chief of his Friends, both *Macedonians* and *Græcians*, were invited, with whom the King ſat down, and having eaten a very little, went out, *Cleo* upon that ſtrait ſtarts up with an Encomium upon *Alexander*, and making a long Harangue about *Alexander*'s merits, which he ſufficiently magnified, he told them, the only recompence they could return, muſt be the making him a God, which too was but a ſmall one, quitting with a little Frankincenſe ſo immenſe Obligations; that the *Perſians* had ſhewn not only their Piety, but Prudence in allowing Divine Honours to their Monarchs; the more they magnified their King, the better he'd defend them. And that Poſterity would not be ſlow to believe whatever ſhould be delivered to them by Fame; that if the others would not, he, as ſoon as the King ſhould come back to table, would fall down and worſhip him; and that he did not doubt, but the wiſer part would follow his Example; for they ought in reverence to his Majeſty, to exceed all others. The Oration ſeem'd plainly to be directed to *Caliſthenes*, whoſe Gravity and peculiar freedom was moſt offenſive to the King; for as much as he thought it was he only that hindred him of being worſhipped as a God. Looking therefore upon the Orator, and the reſt keeping ſilence, he thus began. *Had the King*, ſaid he, *been here at your Oration, you had not wanted an anſwer, for he would have deſired you not to adviſe him to degenerate into outlandiſh Cuſtoms, and ſully the luſtre of his Atchievements with baſe Flattery. But ſeeing he is away, I'le take upon me to anſwer for him, that*

*no fruit that is soon ripe but commonly grows soon rotten; and that you do not go about so much to confer new Honours upon the King, as to diminish those he has already; for there is some time to come ere* Alexander *can be a God. The greatest men never enjoy'd it till after death. But I hope the King may be long ere he arrive to that; that his Life may be long, but his Majesty eternal. Divinity sometimes follows a mans life well spent, but whatever is attain'd in it, Humane Nature must first be remov'd ere men can be sensible of the Divine. Can I and you,* Cleo, *make Gods? Shall the King derive his Divinity from us two? Come, if thou art such a Potent Fellow, prethee let me see thee make a King, you that are so good at creating Deities; 'tis far easier to give a Monarchy than a Deity. We are not ashamed of our Country, nor have we lived thus long, to be taught how to honour our King. I shall rather think Captives our Conquerors, if they shall pretend to prescribe Laws for us to live under.* Callisthenes his Oration in vindication of Publick Liberty, was received not only with general attention and liking, but a vocal assent, especially of the gravest Personages, who were altogether out of love with Novelty. Nor was *Alexander* ignorant of any thing that had past, for he all the while stood behind the Curtains, and therefore he sent to *Agis* and *Cleo*, only to move the *Barbarians* to adore him at his return. And within a little while, as if he had been at some earnest business, he returns to the Banquet, whom whilst the Captives ador'd, *Polypercon*, who sat next above the King, began to joke upon one that coucht the ground with his chin, bidding him hit his chin harder against it, which angred *Alexander*, who already waited only for an Opportunity

tunity to vent his Paſſion. *Therefore,* ſaid he, *you then alone that ſcorn to honour me, are you the only man that think me worthy of contempt.* To which *Polypercon* anſwered, *He neither thought his Prince fit to be mocked, nor himſelf to be contemned.* Then *Alexander* pulling him out of his ſeat, threw him on the ground, ſaying, *See now you your ſelf do that which before you derided in another;* and delivering him into Cuſtody, he diſmiſt the reſt: At laſt, having ſeverely chaſtiz'd *Polypercon,* he pardoned him.

But he bore a greater grudge to *Calliſthenes,* whoſe boldneſs we had long been offended with. It was the Cuſtom of the *Macedonian* Princes, as we have formerly obſerv'd, to deliver their Children, when come to Age, to their Kings, to wait upon him, not much unlike Servants. They kept watch by turns in the entry to the Kings Pavilion. Theſe brought in Women to the King at another Door, where the Watch-men did not attend. Theſe brought Horſes for the King to mount, and kept him company in his Hunting, and in his Wars; they were adorn'd with all ſorts of Liberal Studies, and their chief Honour was to ſit at meat with the King; no one could order them to be puniſh'd but the King. This Company was, as it were a Seminary of Commanders. From amongſt theſe After-Ages choſe their Kings, whoſe Wealth the *Romans* for many Ages took away by force of Arms. *Hermolaus,* a Noble Youth, one of the Kings Guards, had kill'd a Boar, which the King had deſtined for his own Game, for which he was by the Kings Command ſoundly puniſht; which indignity he reſenting very ill, related it to *Soſtratus*: *Soſtratus* was one of the ſame band,

who when he ſaw the Body, he ſo lov'd, tore with Whips, and perhaps too himſelf inflam'd with ſome ancient grudges, he enter'd with the youth into an Aſſociation to murther the King, nor was the matter mannag'd Childiſhly, for they ſhowed a great deal of cunning in chuſing their Companions, who were *Nicoſtratus*, *Antipater*, *Aſclepiodorus*, and *Philotas*; by theſe were brought in *Anicles*, *Elaptonius*, and *Epimenes*, but the buſineſs was hard to compaſs; for it was requiſite that all the Conſpirators ſhould watch the ſame Night, leaſt the buſineſs might be hindred by ſome who were ignorant of it; and therefore in changing turns, and one thing or other, they conſumed thirty two days.

The Night came when all the Conſpirators were to Watch, who were glad to ſee one another ſo reſolute. No one was the leaſt alter'd by hope or fear, whether it was occaſion'd by their publick hate to the King, or by a private Faith plighted amongſt themſelves. They waited at the Door where the King was at Supper to bring him home to his Lodgings, but the good Company made him ſtay longer than uſual, which ſtill heightned the hopes of the Conſpirators, that they ſhould ſet upon him when he was in drink; ſometimes too being ſolicitous leaſt the time ſhould be protracted till Day-light, for at Day-light new Guards were to come to relieve them; and they were afraid, leaſt ere they met together again, which could not be till ſeven days after, the Plot ſhould be diſcover'd by the Treachery of ſome one or other. Now the day came on, and the Banquet broke up, the Guards waited on the King, glad that an opportunity offered it ſelf to perform their Enterprize, when a

Woman

Woman that us'd to be about the Palace, a kind of a Propheteſs, met him, and ſtood in his way to hinder him from going forward, perſwading and intreating him to return to his Banquet, to which he anſwer'd merrily, that he lik'd the Gods advice, and ſending to call back his Friends, he lengthned out the Entertainment till two of the Clock, at which new Guards came to relieve them, but they ſtill perſiſted officiouſly, out of a greedy hope of obtaining their deſire. The King ſpoke more kindly to them than at other times, and bid them go home and take their reſts, for they had watched all Night, beſtowing on each Man a reward of fifty Seſterces, and praiſing their diligence. *Epimenes*, whether he were vanquiſht with the Kings kindneſs, or daſht to ſee the deſign not take effect, and imputing it to the Gods, he declar'd all the deſign to his Brother *Eurylochus*, to whom all the time before he never mention'd a word. There was no Body but had been terrified with *Philotas*'s puniſhment: and upon that ſcore taking hold of his Brother, and waking the Guards, he tells them, he had ſome important buſineſs to communicate to the King: the time and his Countenance declaring no leſs than what his words imported. They wak'd *Ptolomeus* and *Leonatus*, who were to guard the Kings Chamber Door, and entring with a Light, they awake the King, doſ'd with Wind and Sleep. He, when he had recollected himſelf, askt what they would have, *Eurylochus* thus anſwer'd him, That he ſaw the Gods had not altogether been averſe to his Family, for though his Brother had enter'd upon a wicked deſign, yet notwithſtanding he was ſufficiently penitent, and had made him diſcover,

that the persons concern'd were such, as would almost surpass belief. Then *Epimenes* related in order all their Names, amongst which was *Calisthenes*, not as a Complotter, but one that us'd to be little concern'd when he heard the King slander'd. Some say, that when *Hermolaus* told him, how severely *Alexander* had us'd him, he was observ'd to Answer, that they should remember, that they were no longer Boys, which might be doubly construe'd, either to incite their Patience, or their Rage. The King being throughly come to himself, gave *Eurylochus* fifty Talents, and all the wealth of one *Tiridates*, and pardoned his Brother before he intreated for it. As for the Plotters and *Callisthenes*, he caused them to be put in Fetters, and to be kept in his Palace. All the next day and night, he consumed in sleep, for he was much indispos'd by sitting up and drinking. The next day he call'd a Convocation, at which the Relations of the Prisoners appear'd, who did not think themselves secure, because the Law of the *Macedonians* reacht even to the Relations of such as were concern'd in Treason. The King Commanded all the Conspirators, except *Callisthenes*, to be brought in, who all straight confest the design, upon which the King demanded what he had done to deserve so much ill will, they all being somewhat amaz'd, *Hermolaus* thus began:

*Since you demand what was our design, as if you were ignorant of it, it was to kill you, and the reason for it is, because you begin to Tyranize over us more like Slaves than Men who were free born.* The first who took notice of this bold Answer, was his Father *Sepolis*, who rising up, and laying his hand on his foul Mouth, spared not to call him Traytor, and

and one as wicked as if he murthered himſelf that gave him being. Adding, that his fury had made him mad, and that he ought to be heard out. But *Alexander* Commanded *Sopolis* to deſiſt, and *Hermolaus* to ſhow what inſtructions he had received of his Maſter *Caliſthenes*. He proceeded, *And I will make uſe* ſaid he, *of this permiſſion, and freely ſpeak what to our own ſorrowful experience we have found true. How few* Macedonians *have now ſurvived your Cruelty.* Attalus, Philotas, Parmenio, Lynceſtes *and* Clytus, *though alive to our Enemies, yet to us are dead. They defended your Body in the Battel, with the manifeſt hazard of their own, for your Glory, for your Victories they fought, and have a fit reward for all the memorable ſervice they have done you. The noble blood of one ſtained your luxurious Table. Another had the pity ſhowed him to dy a common Death. The Commanders of your* Macedonian *Forces, are tortured and made a Spectacle to the very* Perſians *whom they Conquered.* Parmenio *by whom you were freed from your Potent Enemy* Attalus, *was murthered without the liberty to make his defence. Thus do you make uſe of us as inſtruments to kill, not your Enemies only, but one another; and who juſt before was the Miniſter to execute one of his Friends, by another receives his own Sentence.*

His ſharp Speech made the hearers condemn him; and his Father had already drawn his Sword, and certainly kill'd him, had not the King interpoſed; Who Commanded him, ſince he ſo augmented his Crime, to make his defence. Which, when with much trouble the tumult was appeaſed, he did in this manner.

*How kind and plauſible is this way of giving me, who am ſo young, the liberty of ſpeaking for my ſelf,*

*whilſt* Caliſthenes, *who alone is able to do it effectually, is ſhut up in Priſon; Why is not he heard to plead, when even thoſe who confeſs their Crime, have that priviledge; for no other reaſon, but becauſe you are ſo far from deſiring to hear an Innocent's defence, that you care not to ſee him? Though I can make it appear he is innocent. Theſe only with me have undertaken a brave and noble deſign; Yet can none of them all ſay, that he is privy to it, although his Death is long ago fixt, by our patient, our juſt, and merciful King. This is all the reward he thinks due to the blood of the* Macedonians *ſo freely ſpent for him, which yet he looks on as baſe and ignoble. You have your Captive Treaſure born in Triumph, on no fewer than 30000 Mules. We have nothing to ſhow, nothing to brag of but ſcars which are unrewarded. But even this we could have born with, as deſpiſing the glittering ſpoils, had you not proceeded ſo far, as by a new way to ſubject the Conquered to thoſe who vanquiſhed them. The* Perſian *Garments, forſooth, and Cuſtoms, now delight you. Thoſe of* Macedon *as well as us, are old and unbecoming. Wherefore we conſpire againſt the* Perſian, *not the* Macedonian *Prince, whom, by Law of Arms, we might kill as a Renegado. You would have your Countrymen kneel to you, and pay you no leſs than divine Honours; Your Father* Philip *you ſcorn to think of, nor is it to be queſtioned, but that* Jove *himſelf, were any Deity higher, would be contemned by you. And after all this do you wonder if free-born Souls can endure this Slavery. What can we hope for in your Reign, but either to die for our Innocence, or what is more intolerable, to live Slaves? Your Self will confeſs your ſelf indebted to me, if this reprehenſion make its due impreſſion on you; For I am the firſt who durſt tell you, how far a Freeman can ſuffer. Spare my Father*

*ther I intreat you, for his Child certainly is a sufficient loß to him, and my laſt requeſt is, that now you would lead me to Execution; by my own Death, I may attain what I aimed at in yours, I mean* Liberty.

To this the King immediately replyed.

*How falſe and malicious are theſe imputations, my Patience in hearing them doth ſufficiently evince: For though he had already confeſſed the Crime he ſtood accuſed for, and I was almoſt aſſured, that he would take upon him to vent his rage upon me, whom with as much veneration as a Father, he ought to reverence; yet I, willing that you alſo ſhould hear how he could affront his Prince, being urged by his Maſters Precepts, and the ſame Malice which would have encouraged him to murther me. 'Tis not out of his nor your memory, That when in Hunting he behaved himſelf inſolently, I commanded him to be puniſhed, according to the ancient* Macedonian *Cuſtom, by the ſame Cuſtom which juſtifies Tutours to correct their Pupills, Husbands their Wives, and even Servants, Boys of his Age. Yet this is the cruelty which I have uſed towards him, this the offence for which I was to have been Butchered. How eaſy I am to be moved to pity by ſubmiſſive Criminals, I hope you know ſo well, that 'twill be labour loſt to repeat any inſtances. But 'tis no wonder that* Hermolaus *ſhould call the puniſhment of Traytors cruel and too great, ſince himſelf is ſo guilty of it; and when he praiſeth* Parmenio *and* Philotas, *it is for the good of his own Cauſe;* Lynceſtes *was twice condemned by two Witneſſes of Treaſon, yet did I not protract the time of his puniſhment for two years, until you your ſelves required, that he might be brought to condign puniſhment. That* Attalus *was my mortal Enemy in my Fathers Reign you cannot be ignorant. As for* Clytus, *I could wiſh*

*his*

his rash words, reflecting both on me and you, had not provoked me to such ungovernable fury, though I bore longer his reproaches, than his fiery temper could have endured the like from me. The Clemency of Kings may be tempered as the subject pleaseth; for by a resignation to their will, they are easily mollified; but when the subject is rebellious, and Commotions in the State begin to arise, Force must be used to reduce them to their obedience. But since he objected Covetousness to me, I wonder not that Cruelty came in also; I will not call you one by one, to witness my aversion of this, lest I should seem to upbraid you all with my liberality. But let the whole Army be surveyed, and 'twill be found, that they who a little while since had nothing but Armour, now have silver Furniture, the very Beds whereon they sleep being of massy Silver. Their Tables are loaded with golden Dishes, and their Apartments crouded with Captives, so that they scarce are able to dispence with the prey of their Enemies. Now to the objections of the preferment of the Persians, who are our Conquered Vassals; If I might judge of my own actions, I should look on this as a great sign of my Moderation, that I do not Tyrannize so much as over the Vanquished: Nor indeed did I come to Asia utterly to subvert the Empire, or to depopulate and lay wast the richest half of the World; No, I would have those whom I conquer not to be ashamed, or weary of their Conquerour. They fight therefore for your glory, for your profit they spend their blood; and were they so apprehensive of their own power as you are, they would rebel against you. Whatever possession we gain by our Sword cannot be sure or lasting, but the love gained by kindness and moderation, is certain and durable. If we design to keep Asia under our Protection, and not hazard our Lives and Fortunes only for a view of it, we must confirm

their

their Loyalty by our Clemency, and by that means only shall we gain a firm and lasting Empire. And truly already we have more than we desire. Wherefore let us not be guilty of so much Covetousness, as to desire that which would quite overwhelm us with prosperity. But as to the objection of my mingling the Persian Customs with those of our Country, do we not daily see, and shall we be ashamed to imitate many worthy and laudable Customs of other Countries, as well as transmit ours down to their Posterity. But the most impertinent and ridiculous reflection, is my acknowledging the race of Jupiter, of which he himself pronounced me descended; Am I the Man that can foretel the Answer of the Gods? He of his own accord owned me his Son, and that name I took upon me, because I intended to merit it by my famous Enterprises. I wish that the Indians believed me a God, for upon the report of an Enemies Valour, oftentimes dependeth the success of a Battle, and false reports have many times done as great things as true Courage and Resolution. Do you look on the adorning of your shining Armour with gold and silver, as the effect of my Prodigality and Luxury? Far different from this was my intent, to have those things by custom loose the esteem which Men generally have for them, and that the Macedonians, whom no Enemy could ever subdue, should be proof against the charms of prevailing gold also. I would frustrate the expectation of the vulgar, and not like them admire that glittering Pageantry, but give all the marks of that glorious desire I had, not of carrying home great spoils of Gold and Silver, but of subduing the whole World. That noble design which you, Traytor, would have ended with my Life, and yielded up the Invincible Macedonians, without their General, a prey to their Conquered Vassals. Yet I am entreated not to punish the

innocent

*innocent Parents, though 'tis something bold to inquire after my Determination, since if I intended any such cruelty, I should keep that secret from you, to add (if possible) to your Torments, if the memory of your Friends sufferings could do it. But that barbarous custome of tormenting the innocent and guiltleß Relations with the Offenders, I have long laid aside; and I do promiſe that they shall retain not their Lives only, but their Honours and Places likewiſe. I know the reason why your Instructor* Calisthenes *should be brought forth, whoſe forward Pupil thou art, to urge again thoſe treasonous Reflections, which you with impudence enough have caſt upon me already. Had he been a Macedonian born, I had indeed granted him this liberty, and all should have judged if he be not a fit Maſter for such a Villain; but being of another Country, he shall be tryed by another Law.*

After he had thus ſpoken, the Council broke up, and he ordered the Traytors to be kept in cuſtody by their own Troops, who deſiring by ſome bloudy action to ingratiate themſelves with their Prince, put them to cruel deaths, and among them died *Caliſthenes*, a man as far from the black deſign, as from the flattery of the Courtiers. Never did any one action ſo alienate the minds of the *Greeks* from their King; for conſidering that he not only kill'd, but prolonged his death by torments, who, when after the death of *Clytus*, *Alexander* reſolved to kill himſelf, ſaved his life; who was a man of good Morals, and excellent Learning; and all this before he was heard to plead for himſelf. But a late Repentance followed upon this raſh Undertaking. Theſe Sentiments being not quite unknown to the King, he ordered his march into *India*, to prevent ſeditious Rumours; being indeed always more famous in the

the Fight than after the Victory. Almoſt all *India* lieth towards the Eaſt, being rather long than broad: Towards the North are many Mountains; but the reſt of the Country is very plain and even, and the pleaſantneſs increaſed by many Rivers which ariſe out of the Mountain *Caucaſus*, and flow along the Meadows. *Indus* is the coldeſt River in *India*, and its water differs little in colour from that of the Sea. The greateſt is *Ganges*, which floweth all along the South of the Country; and though it be obſtructed by many Mountains, yet in its courſe it overturneth Trees, and waſheth away its Banks: in ſofter ground it ſtands in Lakes, and maketh ſome little Iſlands. *Aceſines* alſo increaſeth its waters juſt at the entrance into the Red Sea, into which it disburtheneth it ſelf. Here is to be ſeen the great violence of two great Rivers meeting together; and though *Ganges* be the ſwifter, yet neither ſeem to give place. *Dyardenes* is a great River alſo, though not ſo well known as ſome others, by reaſon that it lieth in the farther parts of *India*; it breedeth Crocodiles, as the *Nile*, and Dolphins, and ſeveral other Monſters unheard-of to many adjoyning Nations. *Erimanthus* is a River which turneth and windeth ſo much, that the Inhabitants uſe moſt of it in watering their Grounds, ſo that it growing leſs and leſs, at its entring the Sea, bears no name at all. Many other Rivers ſerve for the diviſion of the Country, but are not ſo famous, becauſe they run not ſo far. The North parts, eſpecially thoſe lying near the Sea, are much damaged by the Winds, the force of which is broken by the Mountains, ſo that they cannot much incommode the inland parts. But ſuch are the frequent and extraordinary changes of Weather, that ſome parts

of

of the Country are meerly burnt up with the Sun, while *India* is covered with Snow; and when other places are cold, these Inhabitants are scorched with intollerable heat; nor can any reason be given why naturally it should be so. 'Tis certain, that the neighbouring Sea differeth not in colour from any other; its name it took from *Erythrus* a King of that Country, so that the more illiterate and ignorant *Greeks* fancied the colour of the water to be bloudy. Their Garments are made generally of their own Hemp and Flax, with which their Country doth abound. The Bark of their Trees are so tender, that they receive the impression of Letters not unlike to Wax. Many Birds are easily taught to imitate men in speaking; and many Beasts are bred there unknown to any Nation, unless they be transported. The Soil nourisheth *Rhinocerots*, but doth not breed them. And the Elephants are greater and stronger than those which are found in *Africa*. The course of the Rivers is slow and still, and doth carry much Gold with it. On the Sea-shore are cast up many Jewels of great value, which as soon as it was known to forreign Nations, increased their Wealth exceedingly, so great a price, even what they pleased, was set upon that which the Sea purged out as its very Excrement.

The disposition of the Natives here, as in all places, much resembleth the Climate they dwell in. Their Garments for their Body, down to their feet, are of Canvas; on their feet they wear Sandals, and Rolls of Linnen, like Turbants, on their heads. Those of the best Quality have Ear-rings and Bracelets of Pearl set in Gold. They comb their Heads often, but cut the Hair seldom;

ſeldom; their Beards they never ſhave, but the reſt of their Faces very curiouſly. But what exceeds all the Vices of the moſt luxurious Princes, is that of their Kings, which they eſteem Magnificence and Bounty. The King never appears abroad, but his Attendants firſt perfume the way through which he is to paſs, with burnt Spice in Silver Veſſels: He himſelf lieth ſtretched on a Golden Litter adorned with Precious Stones. The Cloaths they wear are of Gold and Purple interwoven. After the Litter follow their Life-Guard; and Birds are born upon Boughs which are taught to ſing, and interrupt their talking about the moſt ſerious buſineſs. The Royal Palace hath many Columns of Maſſie Gold, and about them Vines curiouſly engraved in Gold; at the Grapes of which, artificial Birds ſeem to peck, with which they are extreamly delighted; it is open to all Paſſengers. At the time of combing and dreſſing their Heads, they give Audience to forreign Embaſſadours, and Laws to their own Subjects. When they put off their Sandals, their Feet are perfumed. The greateſt pains they ever take, though indeed it be a pleaſure, is to hunt in their Parks, and lolling in the Embraces of their Concubines, to ſhoot their Game. Their Arrows are about a yard long, but ſo heavy, which is inconſiſtent with the nature of them, that though they ſhoot with great force, yet often with ſmall effect. Short Journeys they perform on Horſeback, but for a long Journey they uſe Elephants, whoſe vaſt bodies they cover all over with Gold. And to make it appear the height of Luſt, they have a large Train of Harlots carried in Golden Litters. The Queen hath diſtinct Attendants, and in all ill

cuſtoms

Customs nothing inferiour to the Kings; Their Women are Cooks, and serve Wine also at Table to the Men, of which there is great plenty among the *Indians*. When the King is drunk, and a sleep, his Concubines carry him to his Apartment, and after the manner of the Country, call upon their Gods to grant him sweet repose; and who in the midst of all this voluptuousness, would expect to find the least sign of wisdom? Yet among these excesses, are a sort of morose dogged people, whom you term wise Men; These think it very noble to anticipate the day of their Death, and cause themselves to be burnt alive; especially those who grow old and infirm, they look upon Life as a great disgrace; nor is any respect showed to the Memory or Corps of one that dyed with Age. The Fire they say is defiled if the Sacrifice be not alive. Such as inhabit the Cities, apply themselves much to the study of the motion of the Stars, and to the Prediction of things to come. Nor do they look upon the expecting of Death undauntedly, as a hastning of it at all. Whatever they begin to worship they esteem as gods, but generally Trees, which to violate is no less than a Capital Crime. Their Months are made up of fifteen days, though the year agreeth in all things with ours; for they make Observations according to the first quarter, not a full Moon, which makes their Months shorter. Many other Customs of this Country are traditionally delivered, but such as are not of moment enough to cause a longer digression from the History.

No sooner was *Alexander* entred into *India*, but the Princes severally surrendred themselves and their Kingdoms to him, and promised to be at his

his Command, adding, that he was the third Man deſcended from *Jupiter*, who had come into their Country. That *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were known only by Fame, but he was preſent before them. The King received their ſubmiſſion very Candidly, and told them, That he would make uſe of them as Guides into the Country. After ſome time, ſeeing no more apply themſelves to him, he ſent *Hæpheſtion* and *Perdiccas* with a Detachment as far as *Indus*, with an Order to make a Bridge of Boats to paſs over the whole Army, and in their way to ſubdue thoſe who refuſed to yield upon fair terms. They for the better convenience of paſſing over Rivers, whereof they knew there was ſome number, ſo contrived the Boats, that when they were ſeparated they might be carried in Carts to another River. The King drew out a Party of Light-Horſe, and ordered *Craterus* with the *Phalanx* to follow him; in his march he was Encountred, and in a Skirmiſh, drove his Enemies to their City. As ſoon as *Craterus* overtook him, he Commanded, that not one ſhould be ſaved; but a general Aſſault to be given, the Walls fired, and all put to the Sword, to ſtrike terrour into the reſt of the *Barbarians*, who had not felt the force of the *Macedonian* Arms. Nevertheleſs, as he rode round the Walls, he was wounded with an Arrow, but the Town being taken, all were ſlain, and their Cruelty extended it ſelf to the very Houſes alſo.

Thus having Conquered an ignoble baſe People, he removed to *Nyſa*, which they ſat down before, but in the night were ſeiſed with a more intollerable cold than any they had yet endured, ſo that they were compell'd to make great Fires of the Wood; the Flames of which catched hold

on the Sepulchres, built with Cedar, and burnt them to the ground; for Cedar being dry is very ready to catch fire. This caused a great noise in the City, for the Dogs barking, and Men crying out, soon caused them to descry the Enemy under the Walls of the City, and that no common one neither. Some therefore sallyed out but were cut off by *Alexander*, who stood in a posture to receive them; some therefore were for a Surrender, others for a Battle; which doubt caused the King to forbear all Cruelty towards them, and only to tire them out, which by a continual Siege he did, and they yielded upon discretion. They affirmed *Bacchus* to be the Founder of their City; and he indeed built it at the foot of Mount *Meron*, from the name of which [Μηρὸς, *femur*, a Thigh] the *Grecians* feigned that *Bacchus* was shut up in the thigh of *Jupiter*, because he was brought up on this Mountain. The Inhabitants gave great Commendation of the quality of this Hill, so that *Alexander* caused his whole Army to take Provision, and Encamp on the top of it.

There grew many spreading Vines, and are many pleasant Springs: Apples also very pleasant and wholesome to the taste, and Corn grew without any tilling of the ground; besides these, Lawrels and Berries, and wild Woods. I cannot think it any serious Motion that caused *Alexander* to see it, but Luxury; for the Souldiers began by degrees to gather the Vine leaves, and make Garlands for themselves, so that the Hills and Valleys, sounded with the Eccho of so many thousand Men, calling on the Name of *Bacchus*, the Tutelar Deity of the Place; which tumult began as usually by degrees, till at last they lay

scattered

ſcattered abroad upon the Leaves and Graſs, as if it had been in the midſt of a peaceful and quiet Kingdom. Nor did the King ſtrive to ſuppreſs this ſudden licentiouſneſs, but rather to increaſe it, for he feaſted the whole Army with great variety of Dainties for ten days together. Who therefore will affirm Glory to be the ſole reward of Vertue and Courage, ſince in *Alexander's* Fame, Fortune had ſo great and ſo viſible a ſhare? For their Enemies durſt not take even the advantage of their Drunkenneſs at all, but were as much terrified with the noiſe of their revelling, as if it had been a ſhout of Men prepared to give the firſt onſet of a Battle. The ſame Fortune afterwards no leſs favourably protected them, from the manifeſt advantage their Adverſaries had over them. From hence he came to a Province called *Dædala*, which the Inhabitants being fled into the Woods and Mountains had quite deſerted: Another Country called *Acadera*, he found ſpoiled by the Natives, which inforced him to change the nature of his proceedings, for dividing his Forces, he ſhewed divers Parties at once; and cutting them off unawares, utterly ſubdued them. During this War, *Ptolomy* took more Cities than *Alexander*, but of much leſs importance. Here he joined his Army again, and paſſing the River *Choaſpes*, he left *Caſſan* with a Party to Beleaguer a rich City called by the Inhabitants *Bezira*. He in Perſon marched againſt *Mazaga*; the King of which called *Aſſacanus*, was lately dead, ſo that the Government of both the City and the Country, was in the hands of his Mother *Cleophes*. The City was well fortified, both by Nature and Art, and had in it a Garriſon conſiſting of 30000 Men. On

the Eaſt it hath a ſwift River, with ſteep Banks, to hinder the Entrance into it; On the South and Weſtern ſides, Nature her ſelf had as it were on purpoſe heaped up ſteep and high Rocks, under which were vaſt Caves, which had been built along time; at the end of the Rocks there is a Mote of great depth and wideneſs. The Wall that ſurroundeth the City is 37 Furlongs in compaſs, and the under part was built of Stone, the upper of Bricks, not quite burned, but ſo mixed, that the one cemented the other, and the Clay was covered with Timber leſt it ſhould be waſhed away, upon which was made a place for Souldiers to ſtand upon. *Alexander* viewed the place with no ſmall uncertainty of reſolution which way to attacque it, becauſe the Ditch could no way be filled but by raiſing a Mount in it to plant his Battering Engines upon; in the midſt of theſe thoughts he received a Wound by an Arrow from the Walls in his Leg, but himſelf pulling out the Weapon, called for a Horſe; and being Mounted, ceaſed not to give neceſſary Orders to his Men, before he ſuffered his Wound ſo much as to be ſearched, or bound up. But at laſt, when through the loſs of Blood, and ſome congealing about the hurt, and his Leg hanging down, it began to pain him, he was heard to ſay, That though he was called the Son of *Jupiter*, yet he was very ſenſible of his Mortality by the pain he felt in his wounded Limb; yet would he not retire into his Tent, until he was ſatisfied, that he had taken care of all things, and given Orders for every thing he deſigned to have done. And ſuch was the diligence and expedition which the Souldiers uſed in Executing his Commands, that in nine days time they had pulled

pulled down all the out Houſes belonging to the Town, and with the rubbiſh had filled up the Ditch, and then raiſing Ramparts and Towers upon it till it equall'd the Walls in the height of it. The King came abroad to view the Works before his Wound was skinned over, and after due Commendation given to the Souldiers, he Commanded them to be advanced, and a ſhower of Darts was poured on the Defendants, not without the intended ſucceſs. But what chiefly terrified them that were ignorant of ſuch Warlike Inſtruments, were the moveable Towers, which, becauſe they ſaw not by what means they mov'd, they thought were animated by ſome inherent divine power. The number alſo of Darts and Arrows which were ſhot from the Engines, with their bigneſs, confirmed the ſeeming impoſſibility of ſuch things to be effected by any Mortals: So that deſpairing of the defence of their City, they unanimouſly fled into the Caſtle. But in this place neither could they think themſelves ſafe, wherefore they ſent Embaſſadours to *Alexander* to implore Pardon, which they eaſily obtained; and upon this came forth the Queen, with a ſplendid Train of noble Women, having all golden Goblets fill'd with Wine in their hands. She brought her young Son on his Knees to *Alexander*'s Feet, and obtained not only Pardon, but the continuance of her former Dignity, though 'tis believed her own Beauty pleaded more than her Eloquence, or *Alexander*'s inclination to pardon; and the Child whoever begot it, was afterwards called *Alexander*. From hence *Polypercon* was ſent with a Party, to a place called *Nora*, who after a Skirmiſh with the Inhabitants, purſuing them to their

Walls, had the City ſurrendred to him. Many other places, of little or no importance, were deſerted by the Inhabitants, and fell into his hands. The Men that fled from thence put themſelves into a Rock called *Aornon*, which they report, was Beſieged, but in vain, by *Hercules*, who was forced by an Earthquake to raiſe the Siege and depart. While *Alexander* was looking on the ſteepneſs and ruggedneſs of the Rock, and was uncertain what to do, a certain old Man, with two of his Sons, offered his Service to ſhew him the way to take it, provided he was well rewarded for his pains. *Alexander* promiſed to give him eighty Talents, and ſent him with one of his Sons, (keeping the other for a pledge) to perform his Promiſe. He Commanded *Mullinus* his Secretary to follow him, with a Detachment lightly armed. Their deſign was to amuſe the *Indians*, by fetching a compaſs quite round it. The Rock was as others uſually are, of a moderate and eaſy aſcent to the top, but in the ſhape of a Batt, the foot being broad, and ſo it grew narrow, till at the top it was very ſharp. On one ſide runs the River *Indus*, with high and ſteep Banks. On the other are deep holes, filled with ſtanding Water and Mud: Near the Camp ſtood a ſpacious Wood, which *Alexander* cauſed to be felled; and firſt lopping the Trees, ordered the Trunks to be carried to fill up the holes. He himſelf bare the firſt, and was followed by Souldiers ſhouting chearfully, for none refuſed to do that which the King himſelf firſt gave them an Example of. In the ſpace of ſeven dayes the hollow places were all filled. Then he drew out the Archers and the *Agrians*, and thirty choice Men of his own Company, to give the

firſt

firſt Aſſault; theſe he put under the command of *Charas* and *Alexander*, minding the latter to what ſervices his Name, which was the ſame with his own, promiſed him.

The danger ſeemed ſo great, that at firſt the King intended not to hazard his own perſon, but at the ſound of the Trumpet ſo great was his courage, that commanding his Attendants to follow, he firſt ſet his foot on the Rock. This ſo animated the Souldiers, that all preſently endeavoured to follow the King, leaving the Ranks which they ſtood in. 'Twas a diſmal ſight for many, to ſee their Friends falling from the ſteep Rock into the River, where they periſhed miſerably. This ſo ſtruck the minds of thoſe who were out of danger, that looking on the fortune of others to be but a fore-runner of their own; and turning their pity into fear, they no longer bewailed the paſt diſaſters of their fellow-Souldiers, but their own which were to come. And to that condition were they reduced, that unleſs they conquered, they all inevitably periſhed; for the *Barbarians* rouled down great Stones upon them, which eaſily beat them from their ſlippery hold, and ſo they fell into the River. Notwithſtanding, *Alexander* and *Charus*, with the thirty choſen young men, came ſo high as to fight hand to hand; but having the diſadvantage of throwing upwards, they received more wounds than they gave.

*Alexander*, as became then his Name and Promiſe, ſignalized himſelf; but breaking into his Enemies, more courageouſly than cautiouſly, was encloſed and killed honourably. And no ſooner did *Charus* ſee the Corps of his Friend lie dead, but ruſhing upon the Enemy, and ſeeking nothing but revenge, he ſlew many that oppoſed him,

with his Spear, and more with his Sword; until his eminent Valour made his danger as great, and all directed their Weapons at him, ſo that he ſank down upon the Body of his Friend. The King was extreamly caſt down at the death of two ſuch ſtout Commanders, and the reſt of his men, as indeed he had great reaſon, inſomuch that hereupon he ordered his Men to retreat; which to have done in a confuſion from that place, would have endangered the loſs of them all. But the *Indians*, as they were proud enough, ſo they were content with the repulſe only of their Aſſailers, and did not offer to purſue them. *Alexander* ſeeing no appearance for hope of winning the impregnable Rock, laid aſide his reſolution to attack it again, yet did he continue ſomething of a formal Siege to amuze the Defendants: for he ſtill blocked up all the paſſages towards it, and continually was moving his Engines, making freſh men ſucceed thoſe who were wearied with ſtanding thereon. Which obſtinacy cauſed the *Barbarians* to begin to banquet and carouſe, and make uſe of their Country Muſick, with intent to make their Aſſailers imagine that they thought themſelves not ſecure of their ſafety only, but the Victory alſo. This they performed for two days, and as many nights, but on the third that noiſe ceaſed; but throughout all the Mountain were lighted great Fires, which they made to give light to them in their flight, over the craggy Rocks and Mountains.

*Alexander*, not without ſome wonder at what happened, ſent out *Balacrus* to diſcover what he could of the Enemies poſture, who returned with certain and joyful News, that the place was deſerted by the *Indians*; upon which he commanded his

his whole Army to ſhout, which they did, and ſtruck ſuch a terrour into the fearful *Barbarians*, flying out of all order, that many, as if the Enemy had been at their heels, fell head-long from the Rock and ſlew themſelves; others for haſt falling down and receiving wounds, were deſerted by their Friends and Companions. The King, though indeed he had more reaſon to brag that he had conquered the place, not the men, yet did he ſacrifice to all the Gods in general, and built Altars to *Minerva* and *Victoria*, with as much ſolemnity, as if he had gained a great Victory. To the Guides that went with the Party lightly arm'd, he performed his promiſe faithfully, though they were not able to perform theirs.

The Lieutenancy of the Rock and the Province adjacent, was given to *Siſocoſtus*, and *Alexander* with his Army marched for *Ecbolima*; but by the way he had timely intelligence, that ſome narrow Paſſages, through which of neceſſity he was to paſs, were guarded by one *Eryx* with 20000 men. Upon this he committed that part of the Army, which becauſe of the Carriages mov'd but ſlowly, to the Command of *Cænus*; and himſelf, with his Slingers and Archers, went before, defeated the Ambuſcades, and made the way clear for his Army. The *Indians*, whether through ſome grudge to their Captain, or hopes of getting the favour of the Conqueror, ſeized *Eryx*, and ſent his Head and Armour to *Alexander*; who could not, for his Intereſts ſake, puniſh the Actors, nor for his Honour, reward the cruelty of the Action. In ſixteen days march from that place, he came to the River *Indus*, and found all things which he had commanded for the paſſing of his Men, in good order, prepared by *Hæpheſtion*. Over that Coun-

Country reigned one *Omphis*, by whose persuasion his Father had submitted himself to *Alexander*, and soon after died. His Son dispatched Messengers to *Hæphestion*, to know if he would lay his Commands upon him to live as a private person, or still to enjoy his hereditary Dignity; the latter of which, was granted to him, yet would he not accept of it, nor exercise the Regal Authority. *Hæphestion* he entertain'd very kindly, and furnished his whole Forces with Bread, but would not visit him in person, because he would rely on the Kings mercy alone. Accordingly, as soon as he heard that *Alexander* was near his Territories, he went out with his whole Power to meet him: Amongst his Foot were Elephants, at some distance, who seemed Castles to the wondering *Macedonians*. 'Tis not strange, if *Alexander* at first did not think this posture to denote an Enemy, rather than a Friend; so that he commanded his Men to fall into their order, the Horse into the Wings, and so expect the Enemy. The *Indian* King perceiving the mistake of the *Macedonians*, caused his whole Army to halt, and he alone galloped towards the adverse Party: *Alexander* did the like, whose courage would not suffer him to fear an Enemy, nor had he any reason to suspect a Friend. At their meeting, though without an Interpreter they could not understand one another, yet by their Countenances each others peaceful intention might be discovered. As soon as an Interpreter was come, the *Indian* Prince assured *Alexander*, That he had no other intent in meeting him in that condition, but to surrender all the Strength of his Kingdom to his discretion, together with his Person: That he did all this without any assurance before deprecated by Embassa-

Embaſſadours, as being well ſatisfied, that he fought only to win Honour and Renown; and therefore he could not ſuſpect any treachery in him. The harmleſs ſimplicity of the *Barbarians*, pleaſed *Alexander* very much, who therefore gave him his hand as an aſſurance of his ſafety, and re-advanced him to his Imperial Dignity. *Omphis* preſented the King with 56 Elephants, and many other prodigious Beaſts, among which were 3000 Bulls, a Beaſt much ſet by in thoſe Countries, eſpecially by the Nobility. *Alexander* asked him, *Whither in his Kingdoms were more Huſbandmen than Souldiers*; To whom he anſwer'd, *That at that time, by reaſon of a War he was to maintain againſt two Kings at once, he had more need of Souldiers than Tillers of the ground. The two Princes were* Abiſares *and* Porus, *the latter of which was the moſt formidable Enemy. Both of them,* he ſaid, *lay beyond the River* Hydaſpes, *which whoſoever firſt paſſed, and entred his Territories in a hoſtile manner, he would Encounter, and try the Fortune of a Battle with him.* It is the Cuſtom of that Country, that the Name of the Family deſcended to all the Branches thereof. Wherefore *Alexander* permitted *Omphis* to enjoy not his Fathers Kingdom only, but the Name, which by way of Title, was tranſmitted to him from his Anceſtors, which was *Taxiles.* For three dayes together he gave *Alexander* a ſplendid Entertainment, and on the fourth told him, what Proviſion he had beſtowed on *Hæpheſtion*, and preſented the King with a Golden Crown, and eighty Talents of Coyned Silver. To his Attendants, each Man a Coronet of Gold, and as much Silver; This Bounty in a *Barbarian* pleaſed *Alexander* ſo much, that he returned him his own Preſents again, and gave him

him one of a thouſand Talents out of the prey which he brought with him, with many Cups and Goblets of gold, and rich *Perſian* Habits, beſides thirty Horſes, with the ſame Caparisons and Furniture which himſelf rode on them withal. Which Magnificence did no leſs oblige the Receiver, than offend the *Macedonians* from whom they ſeemed to be given. For *Meleager* at an Entertainment having drank largely ſaid, *He was glad that at laſt in* India *the King had found one worthy to receive a thouſand Talents.* *Alexander* highly reſented the affront, but remembring his ſorrow too late for the Death of *Clytus*, *I forbear*, ſaid he, *to puniſh thee, becauſe I know how pernicious Envy is to thoſe who ſuffer it to prevail over them.*

The day following the Embaſſadours of *Abiſares* went to the King, according to their Orders, reſigning all to *Alexander*'s diſpoſal, whom the King ſent back again, being well pleas'd, and thinking *Porus* might by the ſame method be brought to comply, he ſent one *Cleochares* to him, who might adviſe him to pay him Tribute, and meet him in the entrance of his Confines. *Porus* ſent him word back again, that he intended to obey part of his Commands, and meet him upon the Borders of his Confines, but added, he would come well arm'd. *Alexander* was about to paſs over *Hydaſpes*, when *Barzentes* the Author of the *Arachoſian* Revolt, was brought to him, with thirty Elephants; which ſupply came very luckily towards the *Indian* War, the *Indians* repoſing more truſt in their Elephants than any thing elſe; With him *Gamaxus* was brought fetter'd, a King of a ſmall part of *India*, who had join'd Forces with *Barzentes*; therefore committing them both

to

to ſafe cuſtody, and delivering the Elephants to *Taxiles*, he came to the River *Hydaſpes*, on the other ſide of whoſe Bank *Porus* lay Incampt to hinder the Enemy from paſſing over; he placed 85 Elephants along upon the ſhore, of an extraordinary ſtrength as well as uſual bigneſs; behind whom, he put three hundred Chariots, and thirty thouſand Horſemen; amongſt whom were Archers, who made uſe of greater Arrows than could with convenience be deliver'd by their Bows. Their King was carried upon an Elephant of a more than ordinary bulk, and his Armour all compos'd of Gold and Silver together, with the Excellent Figure of his Body, made him very remarkable; his Wiſdom was very extraordinary conſidering the rudeneſs of the Nation he govern'd. The *Macedonians* were terrified, not only with the ſight of the Enemy, but the prodigious broadneſs of the River: It was four Furlongs in breadth, and very deep in all its parts; and the unevenneſs of the Water ſufficiently teſtified there were ſeveral Rocks in it; but above all, the appearance of the Shore, all fill'd with Armed Men, ſtruck the moſt terrour. The largeneſs of their Stature, and a dreadful noiſe which they made on purpoſe to ſeem the more dreadful, very much encreaſt the Horrour; ſo that the nobleſt Courages were a little chill'd, for they could not well direct their Ships to the Banks, or at leaſt ſafely land them. In the middle of the River were a great many little Iſlands, to which the *Indians* and *Macedonians* carrying their Arms upon their Heads, ſwam over. There they Skirmiſht, and each King in an Epitome as it were, judg'd what Event the War was like to have. Amongſt the *Macedonians* there were two

Youths

Youths Courageous and Daring, *Symmachus* and *Nicanor*, to whom Fortune had till that time continually ſhown her ſelf favourable, which did not a little prompt them to bold attempts; under theſe Captains ſeveral young Men ſwam over to the Iſlands, and ſlew a great many of the *Indians*, Arm'd with nothing more than an Invincible Courage. They might have marcht of with flying Colours, if proſperous boldneſs ever knew when it was well; but whilſt they wait for Enemies, they were enclos'd and deſtroy'd by a multitude of the Enemies, who had ſecretly ſwam over; thoſe who ſcapt the Enemies, were either carried away by the River, or drown'd in Whirlpools. *Porus* who beheld all this from the Bank, was not a little heartned at the Action. *Alexander* at preſent knew not what to do, at laſt he fixt upon this reſolution. There was an Iſland in the River ſomething larger than the reſt, Woody and fit for an Ambuſcade; and a large Ditch not far from the ſhore, was not only ſufficient to hide Foot, but Horſe. That therefore he might the better deceive the watchfulleſt of the Enemies, he made *Ptolomy*, and all his Forces, ride a good diſtance from the Iſland, and ſet up a noiſe as if he were intending to paſs. *Ptolomy* did this for ſeveral days together, and made *Porus* and his Army draw up juſt oppoſite to the place where they expected he would come over. The Enemy were now gone far enough from ſight of the Iſland, when *Alexander*, juſt over-againſt them, caus'd his Tent to be erected, and Commanded all his Guards to ſtand before it; and adorn'd *Attalus*, who had ſome reſemblance of him, and could not well be diſcover'd at a diſtance, in his own Armour, as if the King was on that ſide the Bank,

Bank, and did not intend to pass over. The Tempest that fell, much about this time, at first put a stop to the stratagem, though afterward it seem'd to help it, even ill Fortune it self seeming favourable. He therefore made hast to go over the River with the rest of his Forces into the Island, having diverted the Enemy, to those who a great deal lower lay hard by the River; when all on a sudden a stormy shower fell, scarce to be indur'd in their Cabins, which made many of the Souldiers run out of their Ships to Land, but their tumultuous noise was drown'd in the loudness of the storm; but the shower was too violent to last long, which ceasing, there succeeded so thick a Mist, that it hid the day, and scarce did they know one anothers Faces. Who could have not been afraid to pass over a River by day, though little better than night, over an unknown River; besides, when it was very likely the Enemy stood ready to meet them on the shore, whom it was impossible for them to see, but what might have frightned others only encourag'd them; wherefore he Commanded all to go aboard, without making any noise. *Alexander*'s Ship was the first that Launcht out, but as it hapned, no Enemies appear'd on the opposite shore, for *Porus* only observ'd *Ptolomy*'s Motions. They all except one Ship arriv'd safe to shore, which the Waves dasht against a Rock. He therefore made his Souldiers fit up their Arms, and put themselves in a posture of defence.

*Alexander* had cast his Men into their order, and was leading them on in person before it was told to *Porus*, but the Scouts immediately reported, that the shore was covered with Armour, and Armed Men, and the tryal for the Conquest was at hand.

At

At first, according to the Vice inherent in humane Nature, he would not believe the report, but thought it had been his Ally *Abisares* coming to his assistance, till the Morning discovered the vanity and falshood of his hopes; wherefore to divert the Enemy and keep them in action, he sent out an hundred Chariots with Scythes, and four thousand Horse, under the Command of his Brother *Hages*. His chiefest strength, as himself thought, consisted in those Chariots, each of which carried six Men, two armed with Shields, two on each side, one with Arrows, and two were to guide it, but not without Weapons; for when they came to fight hand to hand, they threw many Darts among their Enemies, not having the reins to hinder them. How serviceable they might have been is not certain, because at that time fell much rain, and made the place so slippery, that the Horses could not stand, and the Wheels of them stuck in the durt and mire. *Alexander* on the contrary, with a light and unburthened Army, fiercely set upon his Foes. The *Scythians* and the *Dahæ* gave the Onset on the left, the Right Wing *Perdiccas* charged with the Horse. As soon as the fight was begun on all sides, they who Commanded the Chariots looked on them as their last refuge, wherefore they furiously brake into the midst of the Battle. At first it was doubtful to which side they did the most dammage; for though the *Macedonian* Foot at first were overthrown and over-run by them, yet many times did they stick in the Mud, and then threw off their Guiders. Many of the Horses being once wounded, could not be govern'd by their Drivers, but drew them into the adjoining River. Many fled unto *Porus*, who as he was valiantly

valiantly fighting, having perceiv'd his Chariots thus confuſedly ſcattered, he diſtributed his Elephants among the chiefeſt of his Attendants, thoſe he placed in their rank, next the Foot and Archers, who uſed a ſort of Inſtrument inſtead of, and not unlike a Trumpet; nor by reaſon of their uſe, doth the intolerable noiſe offend them. In the Front of the Foot was carried the Statue of *Hercules*, which was a great incouragement to his Souldiers, beſides the deadly ſhame and Crime it was to leave their Standard in the Field; for it was a Capital Crime to relinquiſh it. Thus had the fear of *Hercules*, once their Enemy, created in them a religious Veneration of his Memory. Not the Beaſts only with which the *Macedonians* were to Encounter, but the King himſelf did ſomething amaze them. For as the Beaſts ſeemed at a diſtance like Caſtles among the Men, ſo *Porus* exceeded the ordinary Stature and bulk of a Man. To which advantage he had that of his Elephant added, as far ſurpaſſing the reſt of them, as he did the reſt of his Army in height and ſtrength. Which *Alexander* beholding, *Now*, ſaid he, *have I met an Enterpriſe worthy the greatneſs of my mind, ſince I am to encounter not Men only but Beaſts alſo, and both of them Extraordinary.* And turning himſelf to *Cænus*. *I, my ſelf*, ſaid he, *with* Ptolomy, Perdiccas, *and* Hæphestion, *will break into their left Wing, where when you ſee us hotly engaged, and when they are out of order, do you ſet upon them with my Right Wing. You* Antigonus, Leonatus, *and* Tauron, *ſet upon the Front, and gall the Elephants and their Riders with your long thick Spears, which cannot be of any greater uſe to us. Aſſure your ſelves, they are but a dangerous ſtratagem to truſt to, and ſo much the more*

*likely to do their own ſide harm, by how much more eaſily ſuch great Beaſts are managed by fear than Command.* Having thus ſaid, he firſt ſet Spurs to his Horſe, and according to his own advice, gave the Onſet; *Cænus* alſo bravely aſſail'd the left Wing, and the *Phalanx* fiercely ſet on the main Battle. *Porus* ſtill ſtrove to oppoſe his Elephants againſt the Horſe; but that being a ſlow unweildy Animal, could not come near the nimble Horſes. Nor did the Arrows of the *Barbarians* do them any ſervice, for being long and heavy, they could not fit them without reſting their Bows on the ground, which being ſlippery hindred their haſt, ſo that before they could ſhoot, their Enemies were upon them. In a ſmall time the Directions of *Porus* were every where neglected, and there were as many Commanders in chief as the Army ſeparated themſelves into Companies. Some gave the word to keep together, others to ſeparate into Parties, and ſurround the Enemy, but no agreement was between them. But *Porus* with ſome whoſe ſhame overcame their fear, rallied his broken Troops, and again advanced with the Elephants formoſt. The monſtrous Beaſts, together with the horrid Shouts, frighted not only the *Macedonian* Horſes [being very apt to ſtartle] but the Men alſo, and cauſed ſome Confuſion in their Ranks. Which *Alexander* perceiving, ſent the *Thracians* and *Agrians*, being armed lightly, and fitter for a Skirmiſh a far of, than hand to hand, to encounter the Elephants; they bravely aſſaulted both the Beaſts and their Riders with a ſhower of Arrows, and the *Phalanx* ſtood ready to take any opportunity to encreaſe their fear; but ſome purſuing the Elephants too cloſe, were trodden to Death; and became

became a ſad warning to their Fellows, not to be too raſh in approaching ſuch ungovernable Creatures. But the moſt miſerable ſpectacle was to ſee the Elephants lift up Men and Armour together in their Trunks, and give them up to their Riders.

In this manner was the fight prolonged, by ſometimes purſuing, ſometimes being purſued by the Elephants, without any manifeſt ſigns of Victory on either ſide, until he began to hew of their Legs with certain Axes made for that purpoſe. Thoſe ſorts of Weapons they call *Copidæ* [a Κόπτω, *ſcindo*] which are a little crooked like Scythes, and with them they cut at their Trunks and Legs. This ingenuity their fear taught them, for they were not only in fear of Death, but of a ſtrange and barbarous one. The Elephants receiv'd in this manner many Wounds, ſo that they ran in and brake the Ranks of their own Men, and trod in pieces their very Riders. And now grown quite uſeleſs, they were driven out of the Battle.

*Porus* in the mean time being deſerted by many of his Followers, began to throw his Darts, which he had prepared for that purpoſe, about him; with which he wounded many, but being ſo conſpicuous, had more Darts directed at himſelf. He had now received nine Wounds behind and before (for on all ſides was he aim'd at) through which loſing ſo much blood, he ſeemed rather to let fall than throw his Darts from him. The Elephant he rode on much diſturbed the Ranks of the *Macedonians*, until he that guided him, ſeeing the King ſo near fainting, guided him to fly out of the fight. Whom *Alexander* in perſon began to purſue, but his Horſe having re-

ceiv'd many Wounds, fell under him, ſo that loſing time in changing Horſes, he was a good diſtance from him.

In the mean time the Brother of *Taxiles* the *Indian* King, being ſent by *Alexander* to *Porus*, adviſed him to yield himſelf to the mercy of the Conquerour. *Porus* knowing the Voice, though he was quite ſpent, and his Blood fail'd. Yet ſaid he, *I know thee, thou falſe Brother of a more falſe Traytor to his Country*; and with that he threw one Dart, which by chance he had left, and ſtuck him into the Breaſt. After this laſt notable proof of his prodigious Courage, he ſtill haſtned his flight, till his very Elephant, by reaſon of many Wounds, fainted under him. Wherefore ſtopping his flight he once more rallied his Foot, which obſtinacy when *Alexander* ſaw, he Commanded all to be put to the Sword who made reſiſtance; ſo that multitudes of Darts came upon them and him, ſo that at laſt he began to ſlide off from his Elephant. The *Indian* who guided the Beaſt, made him bend his Body ſubmiſſively towards the ground, thinking *Porus* was about to alight. All the Elephants immediately were in the ſame poſture, being taught ſo to do; Which thing made *Porus* and all his Attendants Priſoners: *Alexander* thinking him to be Dead, Commanded his Body to be ſtripped; but the Elephant, as if he had been ſenſible of the diſgrace they offered his Maſter, defended him, and ran at thoſe who offered to approach him, ſtriving to recover him upon his back, but he was preſently ſurrounded and ſlain. Then *Porus*'s Body was put into a Carriage, which moving his Body, he lift up his Eyes, and *Alexander* thus beſpoke him; not out of anger but generous pity.

*What*

*What madneſs,* ſaid he, *provoked thee, after ſo many famous Examples of my Conqueſts, and one ſo near, of my Clemency to thoſe that yielded, even* Taxiles, *to try the Fortune of a Battle.* To whom *Porus* reply'd,

*With that liberty which you took in asking, do I anſwer. I eſteemed none my equal in feats of Arms, becauſe I had experienced my own, but not your Victorious Proweſs. That you are the moſt potent Prince this Battle hath fully determined; but I eſteem my Happineſs and Fame not much Eclipſed, by being poſſeſſed of the ſecond place.*

*Alexander* asked him, what uſe in his opinion the Conquerour ſhould make of his good Fortune? *Uſe it,* ſaid he, *according to the impreſſion which the revolutions of this day have made on you, in which a memorable inſtance hath been given of the uncertainty of humane felicity.*

This Couragious advice prevail'd more with *Alexander* than the moſt humble ſupplication could have done; for ſeeing his Courage yet undaunted, and not in the leaſt caſt down at the utmoſt extremity of Fortune; he entertain'd him not only mercifully, but with much honour and reſpect. Of his Wound he took as much care as if they had been receiv'd in his own ſervice, and at his recovery, contrary to the expectation of all Men, receiv'd him into his intimate Friendſhip, and at the giving him his Kingdom, enlarg'd the bounds of it. Nor indeed was any reſolution ſo conſtant in him, as that of not admiring only, but rewarding alſo true Vertue and Magnanimity, but moſt of all in an Enemy, as well becauſe, that one of his own Subjects might more eaſily Eclipſe his own, if not overthrow it; as becauſe the more famous were

they whom he conquered, the greater was his Fame in being able to ſubdue them.

# The Ninth Book.

*Alexander* rejoicing and being encouraged at ſo memorable a Victory, by which he ſeemed to have opened to himſelf a paſſage to the utmoſt Confines of the Eaſt; after he had offered Sacrifices to the Sun, the better to encourage his Souldiers briskly to undergo the remaining Fatigues of War, he called them together, and making a Speech to them, when he had firſt highly commended their Valour, he remonſtrates to them, That by that one Battle, the whole force and power of *India* was overthrown; that what remain'd would now become a rich and eaſie Prey; that the Country they were next marching to, was ſo renowned for Wealth, that the Spoils they had gotten from the *Perſians*, would, in compariſon of that, appear but mean and deſpicable, for that they would there find Pretious Stones, Pearls, Gold and Ivory enough, not only to fill their own houſes, but ſtore all *Greece* and *Macedon* too. The Souldiers being as greedy of Money, as ambitious of Glory, and knowing beſides, that hitherto he had never deceived them in any thing he had affirmed to them, readily proffer their ſervice: Whom when he had diſmiſt with large promiſes, he gives order for the building a Fleet, that when he had made his obſervations on the Land, he might take a view of the Sea alſo, the boundary of the World. There

was

was in the neighbouring Mountains great plenty of Timber for Shipping, which his men going about to fell, met with Serpents of an unusual greatness. In the same Mountains there were likewise Rhinoceros's, a Creature rarely found elsewhere, which name was given them by the *Greeks*, as being ignorant of the Language of the Country, in which they have a different appellation. Then the King having built two Cities on each side of the River he had passed, distributes to every one of the Commanders of his Forces, Triumphant Crowns, and a thousand Pieces of Gold; and to all the rest of the Souldiers, other Honours and Rewards, according to their several degrees, and personal services in the War.

And *Abisares*, who before the Battel with *Porus*, had sent Embassadours to *Alexander*, sends new ones again, promising to submit to all his Commands, provided he might not be obliged to yield up his Person; for that he could not brook to live without a Regal Authority, or to enjoy even that after he had been once a Captive. To whom *Alexander* sent answer, That if he thought much to come to him, he himself would take the pains to go to him: and so pursued his Progress thence, after he had vanquisht *Porus*, and passed the River into the heart of *India*; in which Country were Woods of a vast extent, shaded with Trees of a wonderful and prodigious height, the most part of whose Branches bending back towards the ground, took thence fresh root again, reascending in new branches, so that they seemed more like so many distinct Trees, arising from roots of their own, than Branches of one and the same Tree. The temper of the Air is very wholsome, because the heat of the Sun is allay'd both by the shade of the Trees,

and the large refreſhing Streams perpetually ariſing out of the Springs. Here were likewiſe abundance of Serpents with ſcales ſhining like Gold, whoſe Poyſon is moſt pernicious, and whoſe biting was preſent death to the Grecian Souldiers, till they were taught a Remedy againſt it by the Natives. * From thence they took their march through Deſerts, to the River *Hydraotes*, adjoyning to which, there was a thick Wood abounding with Trees, elſewhere unuſual, and with wild Peacocks; from whence removing his Camp, he takes in by Siege a Town not far off, and taking Hoſtages of them, impoſes on them a Tribute; and thence goes on to a great City, (as Cities are in that Country) which was fenced not only with a Wall, but with a Lake; where he was met by the *Barbarians*, who came out to fight him with Chariots tyed together, and were armed ſome with Darts, ſome with Spears, and ſome with Axes, leaping with great force and agility into the Chariots, when they had a mind to aſſiſt any of their Party that were in danger. And at firſt ſo unuſual a way of fighting, did a little daunt and ſtartle the *Macedonians*, becauſe they were wounded at a diſtance; but upon better conſideration, deſpiſing ſo ill a compoſed and irregular a Troop, pouring in upon them, and beſetting both ſides of their Chariots, they began with their Swords moſt furiouſly to aſſail all that oppoſed them; and that they might the better come at the Chariots to ſurround them ſingle, order was given to cut in ſunder the Cords and Thongs with which they were bound together: ſo that the Enemies, after the loſs of 800 of their men, were forced to retire into the Town, whoſe Walls the very next day being attempted on every ſide with

Scaling.

Scaling-Ladders, were eaſily gained: ſome few, by the favour of a good pair of heels, eſcaped out of the Battel, who when they heard of the taking and deſtruction of the City, got over the Lake, and filled all the neighbouring Towns with Terrour and Conſternation, reporting everywhere, That there was come an invincible Army, and that ſeemed Gods more like than Men.

Upon this, *Alexander* leaving *Perdicas* with a flying Army to harraſs that Country, ſends a part of his Forces under the command of *Eumenes*, to reduce ſome other of the *Barbarians*, and marches with the reſt to a ſtrong City, to which the Inhabitants of the others were likewiſe fled for Refuge. The Townſmen, though they ſent to intreat peace of the King, yet nevertheleſs prepared for War, becauſe by a Sedition ariſing among them on this occaſion, the People were divided into two Factions; ſome ſtoutly affirming, that it was better to ſuffer any Extremities, than yield; and others, that they were in no capacity to reſiſt. But whilſt they ſpun out the time in contention, without coming to any unanimous concluſion, they who were for yielding, ſet open the Gates, and let in the Enemy. *Alexander*, though he might juſtly have wreak'd his diſpleaſure upon the Authors of the War, yet was pleaſed to give them a general Pardon; and ſo taking Hoſtages of them, marcht away to the next City, cauſing the Hoſtages to be conducted along at the head of his Army; who, as being of the ſame Nation, being known and diſtinguiſhed by the Defendants on the Walls, were immediately deſired to be admitted to a Parley with them; which being granted, they ſo effectually repreſented to the Beſieged, as well the Kings ſingular Clemency and

and Generosity, as his mighty Power, that they induced them to yield, which Example prevailed so on the remaining Cities, that they all quietly submitted likewise to his Empire.

From thence he went on to the Kingdom of *Sophis*, whose Inhabitants are one of the wisest, most civilised, and well-governed Nations of all the *Barbarians*. Among them, the Care and Education of Children, is not left to the pleasure and discretion of their Parents, but is committed to certain publick Officers appointed for that purpose, who when they find any Children unfit for action, or any ways disabled in their Members, command them to be made away, as not worth bringing up. In their Marriages they look not on Riches or Nobility, but on the exquisite shape and other commendable Qualifications of the Body, because they are the chief excellencies they esteem in their Children. The chief Town of this Country which *Alexander* Beleaguer'd with his Forces, was then kept by King *Sophis* in Person. The Gates of which, though the *Macedonians* found shut against them, yet they could see no Defendants appear on the Walls or Turrets, so that they could not tell what to think, whether the Enemy had deserted the City, or whether they had not with some sly design hidden themselves, when all on a sudden, a Gate was opened, and out comes the *Indian* King with two of his Sons that were grown to Mens Estate, to meet *Alexander*. He was of Person much taller and properer than any of his *Barbarian* Subjects. He had on a long Purple Robe richly wrought with gold, and hanging down to his Heels. His Shoes were set with pretious Stones. His Wrists and Arms were likewise adorn'd with Pearls;

Pearls; At his Ears hung Pendants of extraordinary whiteneſs and largeneſs, and he had a Staff of gold ſet with *Beryl* Stones, which delivering to *Alexander*, and wiſhing him much Joy, he with that Ceremony yielded himſelf, his Children, and his People, to his Diſcretion.

There are in that Country, notable Dogs for Hunting, who as they ſay, will not bark when they ſee a wild Beaſt, and have a fierce antipathy againſt Lyons. And *Sophis*, being minded to ſhew *Alexander* the Courage and force of theſe Creatures, cauſed a Lyon of extraordinary bigneſs to be brought out before them, and four of theſe Dogs to be ſet upon him, who preſently fixed on the Beaſt, which being done, one of the Officers moſt verſed in the management of thoſe Divertiſements, taking hold of a Leg of one of the Dogs, that with the reſt, hung by the Teeth on the Lyon, endeavoured by main force to draw him off, and finding he could not oblige the Dog to quit his hold, he, with his Weapon, cuts off his Leg, which Cruelty abating nothing of his obſtinacy, he cuts off another, and that not prevailing neither, he continued ſtill to cut and mangle him, yet to the laſt the Dog never flincht, but in death it ſelf, left his Teeth fixed in the Wound of the Beaſt; ſo great and invincible an eagerneſs and courage is nature reported to have inſpired thoſe Animals with, for Hunting. Though, to ſpeak ingeniouſly, I report more of them than I believe; for I can neither endure to affirm any thing of which I doubt, nor deprive the Reader of any thing I have heard. After this, *Alexander* leaving *Sophis* in his Kingdom, and Rejoining *Hepheſtion*, who was returned from the Conqueſt of another Country,

try, purſued his way on to the River *Hypaſis*. The King of the next Nation was then called *Phegelas*, who after he had given Command to all his people, to mind the Tillage of their Lands, as they uſed to do, goes out to meet *Alexander* with Preſents, and profeſſing himſelf ready to comply with all his Commands, ſtays with him about two days. On the third day, the King had reſolved to paſs the River, which was difficult to effect, not only becauſe of the largeneſs of the ſtream, but of the Stones that obſtructed the paſſage. Making therefore enquiry of *Phegelas* of what was neceſſary to be known for his better information, he was told, that when he had paſt the River, he had eleven days march through vaſt Deſerts, and then he would arrive to the Bank of *Ganges*, the greateſt River of all *India*, on the other ſide of which, dwelt the *Gangarides* and *Pharraſians*, whoſe King was named *Aggrammes*, who had lined and beſet the paſſages with twenty thouſand Horſe, and two hundred thouſand Foot, beſides two thouſand Chariots, and what was moſt formidable of all, a number of Elephants, of which he was reported to have full three thouſand. All the particulars of this Relation ſeemed incredible to *Alexander*, and therefore he asked *Porus*, who then was with him, whether things were indeed as they were repreſented, who anſwered, That it was no falſe Relation that was given out of that Nation and Kingdom; but that he that Reigned there at preſent, was not only of ignoble extraction, but of the very ſcum of the people; for that his Father was a poor Barber, who had much ado to get Bread by his daily labour and Calling; but that being taken notice of, and affected by the Queen,

Queen, for his good meen and comelineſs of Body, he was, by her, advanced into Friendſhip and Favour with the King then Reigning, whom when by their ſecret ſtratagems they had cut off, he under pretence of being Guardian to the Children, Uſurps the Kingdom, and after he had Murthered them, begot him that now Reigned, who was a Man generally hated and diſdained by his people, and of a temper of Mind more ſuitable to his Fathers Fortune, than the preſent Splendour he was placed in by Fortune.

This Confirmation of *Porus* filled *Alexander*'s Mind with much perplexity; for though he contemned the Enemy, and their Beaſts, yet he dreaded the diſadvantagious ſituation of the places, and the rapidity of the Rivers; and to go about to purſue Men that were baniſht as 'twere to the utmoſt bounds of the World, and diſlodge them from thence, ſeemed an enterpriſe of inſuperable difficulty: But then again on the other ſide, the ambition he had of glory, and his inſatiable deſire of acquiring Fame, would ſuffer nothing to appear remote, nothing impenetrable to him: And ſometimes he miſdoubted within himſelf, whether the *Macedonians*, after they had paſt ſo many vaſt tracts of Land, and were grown old in the Army, and in the Field, would be willing to follow him any further over ſo many Rivers that croſſed their way, and ſo many other difficulties with which nature had obſtructed their paſſage, it being more likely, that they who were ſo enriched, and over-burthened with ſpoils, would chuſe rather to ſit down with the enjoyment of what they had, than toil and expoſe themſelves any further to ſeek more. That his

his Sentiments, and those of his Souldiers, were very different; for that he, that aimed at no less than the Empire of the whole World, was yet arriv'd but to the beginning of his Atchievements; whereas his Souldiers, wearied and spent with the Fatigues they had already past through, now the danger was over, expected to enjoy, without further delay, that fruit of their labours that was neareſt, and which they had already gained. But at length, his ambition prevailing over his Reaſon, he called his Souldiers together, and made a Speech to them, much after this tenour.

*Souldiers, I am not ignorant, that for ſome days paſt, many reports have been artificially and purpoſely ſpread abroad by the people of* India, *which may poſſibly terrify you; but how ill grounded thoſe fears are, paſt experience ſufficiently pre-informs us. For in the ſame manner, the Streights of* Cilicia, *the Fields of* Meſopotamia, *and the Rivers* Tigris *and* Euphrates, *one of which we waded through, and the other we paſſed with a Bridge, were all repreſented terrible to us by the* Perſians. *Report is never exact, but all things by that are ever painted bigger than the Life: Nay, even our own glory it ſelf, though it be ſolid, yet conſiſts more in name than action. Which of you but a little while ago, thought you were able to cope with Beaſts that appear'd like Walls, to paſs the River* Hydaſpis, *or Encounter thoſe other difficulties which were repreſented ſo much greater than indeed they were? Certainly we had long ago fled out of* Aſia, *if we could have been beaten out with Fables. Can you believe that Elephants there are to be found in greater Droves than ordinary Cattel in other places; they being Creatures ſo rare, ſo hard to be taken, and much harder to be tamed? The*

*ſame*

ſame romancing fancy too, ſhews it ſelf in the pretended numbers of their Horſe and Foot. And as to the Rivers, the wider they be the ſmoothlier they glide; for when they are cramped up between narrow Banks, and are from thence repulſed into a narrow Channel, their Waters flow with a very violent courſe; whereas in a ſpacious Channel, the current is more gentle and ſlow. Beſides, the main danger is in gaining the adverſe Bank, where the Enemy ſtands ready to oppoſe your Landing, and therefore how broad or narrow ſoever the River be you have to paſs, thoſe who ſhall attempt to land on the other ſide, will ſtill run but the ſame hazard. But, ſuppoſe all thoſe ſtories true, what is it that moſt terrifies you, the greatneſs of the Beaſts, or the multitude of the Enemies Forces? If the Elephants, we have a freſh Example of them in the laſt Battel, wherein they more furiouſly run upon their own people than on ours; and ſuch vaſt Bodies as theirs were mangled and diſabled by our Axes and Scythes: What's matter if they have no more of them than Porus had, or if they have three thouſand, when we ſee, that 'tis enough to wound but one or two of them, to put all the reſt to flight? Beſides, when they can hardly govern a few of them, ſo many thouſands gathered together, muſt needs prove unmanageable, and conſequently, when they can neither ſtand nor flie, their vaſt Bodies will prove but uſeleſs and unwieldy. As for my part, I have always made ſo little account of thoſe Animals, that though I had ſome, I never uſed them in War, knowing well enough, they were more dangerous to their own party, than to the Enemy. It muſt be then the multitude of the Horſe and Foot that diſmays you, for you know you are uſed to fight with but ſmall Armies, and this will be the firſt time perhaps you ever encountred an undiſciplined multitude? Of what Invincible force the

Macedonians

Macedonians *are againſt the moſt numerous Armies, let the River* Granicus *be a proof, and* Cilicia, *that was deluged with* Perſian *Bloud, and* Arbella, *whoſe Fields were covered with the Bones, of thoſe ſlain by us. It is methinks paſt time of day for you now to begin to number the Legions of your Enemies, after you have made* Aſia *a Deſart by your Victories. When we were ſailing over the* Helleſpont, *then was the time for us to think on the fewneſs of our numbers. Now the* Scythians *follow us, the* Bactrian *Auxiliaries are at our call, and the* Dahæ *and* Sogdians *fight under our Banners: Yet I confide not in their multitude, I look upon your Courage, and 'tis your Valour I take for the chief ſecurity of all my future Atchievements: So long as I ſhall ſee my ſelf Accompanied in Battel by you, I ſhall never trouble my ſelf to conſider the number, either of my own, or the Enemies Armies; provided you bring me but hearts full of Affection and Courage, ſuch are fit for my ſervice. We are not now at the beginning, but are drawing towards the period of our labours and atchievements; we are come as far as the riſing of the Sun, and to the Ocean, from whence, unleſs Cowardiſe and Lazineſs hinder us, we ſhall return, after having ſubdued the very ends of the Earth into our own Country. Do not then (like ſlothful Husbandmen) let ripe fruit be loſt for want of gathering: The rewards are greater than the dangers, for the Country is rich, and the People not Warlike, but Effeminate. And therefore I lead you thither, not ſo much to acquire glory, as to enrich your ſelves with ſpoils. Such Men as you deſerve to carry back into your Country, the Riches which that Sea brings in to thoſe Shores; Such Men as you cannot in honour leave any thing unattempted, or omitted for want of Courage; I therefore pray and intreat you, for your own, and for your glories ſake, by*

*by which you are exalted above a humane pitch; and in consideration of the mutual obligations I have to you, and you to me, by which we have contended in vain, to overcome each other, that just now, when he is ready to arrive at the Worlds end, you would not desert one grown up with you in the Field, your Fellow-Souldier, not to say, your King. Other things I have Commanded you, but for this one thing I shall be obliged to you. And remember it is I, entreat you, I, that never Commanded, but I was my self the foremost to meet the dangers; I that have often with my single Shield, stood the shock for you of a whole Army, that now intreat you, that you would not break in my hands that Palm, by which, if Envy blast not my designs, I will equal* Hercules, *and* Bacchus *too. Yield at last this to my Intreaties, and break at length that obstinate silence of yours. Where are those Acclamations that used so loudly to speak your eager Courage? Where is the wonted Countenance of my* Macedonians? *I can scarce own you, my Souldiers, neither do I seem to be known by you. I have been all this while preaching to deaf Ears, and endeavouring to excite averse and stubborn minds:* And when yet for all this, they still hung down their heads, and persisted in silence. *I know not,* continues he, *in what I have unwittingly offended you, that you will not so much as look upon me. Methinks I am in some Wilderness, no Body answers me, none of those I speak to, offers so much as an objection against what I say. And what is it that I desire? Why truly I stand up for your Glory and Greatness. Where now are those that I saw so lately contending with so much passion, who should be the first to receive the Body of their wounded King? I am deserted, forsaken, and delivered into the Enemies hands; but that shall not make me fall back from my Resolution, I will march*

*alone againſt them. Expoſe me to the Rivers, to the Beaſts, and to thoſe Nations whoſe Names ſo affright you. I ſhall find thoſe that will follow me though you ſhould deſert me. The* Scythians *and* Bactrians *will ſtick to me, though they were lately my Enemies, they are now my Souldiers. I had rather die than live a precarious Commander; go back again to your homes, go back, I ſay, Cowardly triumphing, after you have deſerted your King: As for me, let me alone here, I'le fight out my way, either to the Victory you have deſpair'd of, or to an honourable Death.*

But neither could he extort any reply from the Souldiers, for that like Men ſeiſed with fear, with Eyes fixed on the ground, they waited, expecting ſome of their Leaders, or chief Commanders, ſhould remonſtrate to the King, that they were ſo much diſabled with Wounds, and ſo Harraſſed with the continual Fatigues of War, that though they refuſed not, yet they were not in a condition to undergo the ſervice at preſent required of them. Then firſt there aroſe a general murmur with one accord, afterwards a ſighing, till at laſt their grief was ſo much raiſed, that it diſcharged it ſelf in ſuch ſhowers of tears, that the Kings anger was thereby ſo melted into compaſſion, that in ſpight of himſelf, he could not forbear weeping too. At length, whilſt the whole Aſſembly continued thus diſſolved in tears, *Cenus* ſeeing the reſt in ſuch a ſuſpenſe, ventured to advance toward the Throne, making a ſign that he deſired to ſpeak, whom when the Souldiers ſaw, drawing off his Helmet from his Head, [for that was the Ceremony uſed by them in ſpeaking to the King.] They began to exhort him, that he would be pleaſed to plead the cauſe of the whole Army. Then *Cenus* ſpoke in this manner.

*The Gods forbid,* ſaith he, *Sir, we ſhould harbour any diſloyal thoughts, and indeed they do forbid it. We, your Souldiers, have ſtill the ſame hearts and affections for your Majeſty we ever had, and are as ready, in obedience to your Commands, to go any where to fight, to hazard our ſelves, and with the expence of our beſt Blood, to make your name famous to Poſterity. And therefore if you will needs perſiſt in your deſign, though unarmed, nay though naked, and exhauſted of Blood, we with all humble reſignation to your pleaſure, are ready in any* Equipage, *either to follow or precede you. But if you would hear without any diſguiſe, the true Sentiments of your Souldiers, forced out of their mouths, by the extream neceſſity of the circumſtances to which they are reduced. Be pleaſed to lend a favourable Ear to thoſe, who with unſhaken conſtancy, have hitherto followed your Command and auſpicious Conduct, and who are ſtill diſpoſed to follow you, which way ſoever you ſhall advance. Your Majeſty has by the greatneſs of your exploits, not only overcome your Enemies, but your own Souldiers too. Whatever mortality is capable of, we have already performed. We have traverſed ſo many Seas and Lands, that we now know all things in them better than the* Natives *themſelves. We are now advanced almoſt to the end of the World, yet you prepare an Expedition into another. And ſeek an* India *unknown to the* Indians *themſelves; You endeavour to rout People that live among wild Beaſts and Serpents, out of their lurking holes, and Dens, that by your Victories you may illuſtrate more than the Sun himſelf ever yet ſaw. A deſign certainly befitting the greatneſs of your mind, but too ſublime for ours. For your Valour will be always in the increaſe, but our Force is well-nigh at its period already. Look upon our Bodies, and ſee how empty they are of Blood, how*

*every where pierced with Wounds, how deformed and putrified with ſcars. Our Darts and Javelins are now grown pointleſs, and our Arms are worn out. We are feign to wear* Perſian *Habits, for want of the convenience of being ſupplied from home; ſo that we have been forced to degenerate into a Foreign Mode. How many of us are there that have not ſo much as a Corſlet, or a Horſe left? Be pleaſed but to Command an enquiry to be made, how many have been deſerted by their own Slaves, and what every Man has now remaining of his booty, and ſee whether upon a juſt account you will not find, that we the Conquerours of all things, are yet in want of all things. We are not ſurfeited with Luxury, but ſpent with War, in which we have worn out our military Inſtruments. And, Sir, can you find in your heart to expoſe ſo brave an Army, naked and unprovided, to thoſe monſtrous Beaſts? whoſe multitude, however it may deſignedly be reported greater than it is by the* Barbarians; *yet as I underſtand by the Relation, though ſuppoſed of the largeſt, muſt needs amount to a very conſiderable number. But if you be abſolutely reſolved to preſs forwards into* India, *that part of it towards the South, is not ſo vaſt a Region, Conquer but that, and you then may rove at pleaſure on that Sea, with which nature has thought fit to bound the habitable Earth. What need you go ſo far about to ſeek that glory which you may have nearer hand? The Ocean is to be found on this ſide as well as that, unleſs you take delight in wandring; we are already come as far as your Fortune will permit you to lead us. Theſe things I choſe rather to remonſtrate to your Majeſty before this Aſſembly, than out of their preſence; not with deſign to curry favour with the Army that ſtands about me, but that you might hear them ſpeak out their ſenſe in plain words, rather than mutter it in ſighs.*

When

When *Cenus* had finiſhed his Speech, the Army gave a ſhout on every ſide, in a weeping tone, with confuſed Voices, calling the King their Father and their Lord; and then the other Commanders, eſpecially the old Standers, who by reaſon of their Age, had both a more plauſible pretence to deſire to be excuſed, and likewiſe more intereſt and credit with the King, came up too, and made the ſame requeſt, upon which, *Alexander* finding he could not well either puniſh their obſtinacy, or appeaſe their rage, not knowing what courſe to take with them for the preſent, leapt in a paſſion from his Throne, and ſhuts himſelf up in his Palace, giving order that none ſhould be admitted to his preſence but thoſe that uſed to be about him. Two days he ſpent within, to paſs away his anger, and on the third day he came out again, and Commanded twelve Altars to be erected of ſquare Stone, as a Monument of his Expedition; he cauſed likewiſe the Intrenchments and other works of his Camp, to be inlarged, and Beds to be left of a greater ſize than was proportionable to the ordinary ſtature of Men, that they might ſhow the greater, and that by this impoſture, he might induce poſterity to think miraculous things of himſelf and his Army. From thence he marcht back the ſame way he went, and Incamped by the River *Aceſines*, where *Cenus* hapned to fall ſick and die, at whoſe Death the King ſighed, but yet let fall this reflecting expreſſion, That *Cœnus* for ſo few days he had to live, had made a long Speech, as if he only were the likelieſt Man to ſee *Macedon* again. The Fleet he had Commanded to be built was now launched; In the mean while arrived *Memnon*, bringing with him out of *Thrace*, a

Recruit of ſix thouſand Horſe, beſides ſeven thouſand Foot more from *Harpalus*, and Arms for twenty five thouſand Men wrought with gold and ſilver, which being diſtributed among the Souldiers, the old ones were order'd to be burnt; and being now on the point to Sail into the Ocean with a Fleet of a thouſand Ships, after he had by means of a mutual Alliance, reconciled the two Indian Kings, *Taxiles* and *Porus*, who were at variance, and began to renew their old feuds, he left them both in their Kingdoms, they having both, with all diligence, promoted the Building of his Fleet. He likewiſe built two Cities, one of which he called *Nicæa*, and the other *Bucephalos*, dedicating that City to the name and memory of the Horſe he had loſt. And ſo giving order that the Elephants, and Baggage, and other cumberſome things, ſhould be Conducted after him by Land. He ſailed down the River with the ſtream, making about forty Furlongs a day, that he might now and then put a ſhore his Forces at convenient places. Purſuing thus his courſe, he comes to a Country where the River *Hydaſpes* runs into the River *Aceſines*, from whence it continues its courſe to the Borders of the *Sobians*, who report themſelves deſcended from ſome Souldiers of *Hercules*'s Army, who being left behind becauſe they were ſick, ſeated themſelves in the Country they were now poſſeſt of. Their Cloaths were Skins of wild Beaſts, and Clubs their Weapons; and though they had forgotten *Grecian* manners and cuſtoms, yet they retained ſtill many marks of their original. Here landing his Forces, he marched 250 Furlongs up into the Country, which when he had laid waſt, he takes the Capital Town of it by

by Siege. Another Nation had placed forty thouſand Foot on the Rivers ſide to oppoſe him, which he paſſing the River, forces to flie into a Walled Town, which he takes by ſtorm, putting all to the Sword that were at Mens Eſtate, and ſelling the reſt. Then going about to force another City, he was repulſed by the Valour of the Defendants, and loſt many of his *Macedonians*; but when they ſaw he obſtinately continued the Siege, the Townſmen deſpairing of their ſafety, ſet fire on their own Houſes, and burn themſelves, their Wives and Children. Which whilſt they continued to augment, and their Enemies to extinguiſh, a new and unheard ſort of fight aroſe, when the Inhabitants deſtroyed the City, and the Enemies defended it. So powerful is War, to make Men act even contrary to the Laws of Nature. There was in the Town a Cittadel that remain'd untoucht, in which he left a Garriſon. And then goes on Shipboard again, with a deſign to Sail about the Cittadel, whoſe ſcituation was remarkable, for the meeting of three of the greateſt Rivers of *India*, except *Ganges*, who with their Waters ſurround its Fortifications: For on the North it is waſhed by the River *Indus*, and on the South, the Rivers *Aceſines* and *Hydaſpes*, mixing together, jointly embrace it. The meeting of ſo many Rivers cauſes thereabouts a very rough Water that riſes in Waves like the Sea, by the violence of which, ſuch heaps of ſlime and mud are caſt up, ſometimes here, and ſometimes there, that the Channel for Veſſels to paſs through, is forced into a very narrow ſpace; ſo that the Mariners ſeeing the Waves come rouling ſo faſt upon them, and their Veſſels beaten by them both a head, and on both ſides, they be-

gan to pull in toward the ſhore; but their endeavours were fruſtrated and prevented, partly by fear, and partly by the headſtrong rapidity of the Rivers; ſo that two of the biggeſt Ships in the Fleet ſunk before their Eyes; and the leſſer ones being likewiſe no longer guidable, yet by good luck were driven aground without any dammage. The King himſelf fell among the moſt rapid Whirlpools, amidſt which his Ship being intangled, was toſt about oblickly, the Steerſmen being no longer able to govern her, or keep her Head ſteady any way: So that he had already ſtript himſelf with intention to leap into the Water, and his Friends were already got in, and were ſwimming hard by to receive him; and it appear'd doubtful, whether was moſt dangerous, for him to venture to ſwim, or truſt himſelf any longer in the Ship. When the Mariners, incited by the greatneſs of the danger on both ſides, made ſo mighty an effort with their Oars, which they beſtir'd with all the ſtrength that Men could do, and ſo laſhed the inſulting Waves, that you would have thought the Waters had been cleft aſunder, and that the Whirlpools had given back, by which means at laſt they made a ſhift to bring off the Ship, yet could not get her to ſhoar, but run her aground in a ſhallow Water juſt by, ſo that you would have thought they had been warring with the Rivers.

Therefore when he was got aſhore, he cauſed as many Altars to be Erected as there were Rivers, and Sacrifices to be offered on them, and then continued his Progreſs thirty Furlongs further, from whence he arrived at the Country of *Oxydracans* and *Mallians*, who though before at Wars with one another, were now by the ſence

of

of their common danger Leagued together. They had an Army that conſiſted of nine thouſand choice young Men on Foot, ten thouſand Horſe, and nine hundred Chariots. But the *Macedonians*, who thought they had had no more dangers to Encounter, when they came to ſee, that contrary to their expectation, they had ſtill a new War to undergo with the fierceſt Nations of *India*, were terrified with a ſurpriſing fear, and began again with ſeditious Clamours to upbraid the King, telling him, That they had been forced to deſiſt from the Expedition againſt the River *Ganges*, and the Countries beyond it, in hopes of ſome reſpite from continual ſervice, but that for ought that they ſaw, they had not yet ended, but only changed the Seat of the War. That they were ſtill expoſed to unconquered Nations, that with their Blood they might open him a paſſage to the Ocean. That they were drag'd along beyond the very Stars and the Sun it ſelf, and forced to advance to thoſe places which nature her ſelf had removed out of ſight. That though they had new Arms, they had new Enemies too to deal with, to Defeat and put to flight all which, what reward could they expect? Nothing but miſts and darkneſs, and perpetual night, that were ſpread over the face of the deep; a Sea ſwarming with Sea-Monſters; and ſtanding, and of great ſtanding Pools, in which dying nature ſeems to breath her laſt. The King upon this being more concerned for the perplexity of his Souldiers minds, than for that of his own, calls them together, and in a Speech, Remonſtrates to them how unwarlike thoſe people were, they ſo much feared; how that there was nothing but thoſe Nations now in the way to hinder them,

them, after they had meaſured the whole extent of the Earth from arriving to the Ocean, which ſhould be the end of their labours as it was of the World. That in condeſcention to their fears, he had declined his intended Expedition againſt *Ganges*, and the multitude of Nations that dwell beyond it, and had turned his Arms that way, where there was equal glory and leſs danger to be found. That he was now within ſight of the Ocean, that they themſelves might now ſmell the ſcent of the Sea; and that therefore he hoped they would not envy him the glory he was going to acquire. That they would now quickly paſs beyond the limits markt out by *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, and with little pains to themſelves, purchaſe to their King immortal Fame. All multitudes, but more eſpecially Military ones, are ſo fickle and inconſtant, that they are eaſily inclined this way or that; and accordingly we ſee, that Seditions and popular Commotions, are as eaſily appeaſed as begun. For never was a more chearful ſhout given by an Army, they all crying out, "Lead us forward then, Sir, in the "name and under the favour of the Gods, and "Equalize in glory thoſe you ſo much Emulate. *Alexander* much encouraged and joyed at theſe Acclamations, preſently marches away, and Incamps near the Enemy. They were (as is ſaid) the moſt valiant and puiſſant Nations of *India*, and with all diligence made preparation for War. They choſe a General of the *Oxydracan* Nation, of ſingular Courage and Conduct, who pitched his Camp under the Roots of the Mountain, and kindled Fires all along the whole extent of his Camp, that he might make the multitude of his Men ſeem ſo much the greater. And ever and anon,

anon, he would cauſe his Men with cries, and horrid yelling and howling after this manner, to endeavour, though in vain, to terrify the *Macedonians* that lay quiet in their Camp: When it began to be day, the King being confident of the Victory, Commands his Men, who were no leſs chearful and brisk, to fall to their Arms, and march into the Field in Battel Array. But upon their appearance, the *Barbarians*, whether out of fear, or by reaſon of ſome ſudden Sedition ariſing among them, is uncertain, fled away: However, it is certain, they gain'd and prepoſſeſs'd themſelves of the moſt difficult and tenable paſſes of the Mountains, whoſe flying Troops the King having purſued in vain, without taking any but their Baggage, he advanced toward the principal Town of the *Oxydracans*, into which, moſt of the Enemies were fled, truſting no leſs in their Arms, than in the ſtrength of the Walls. And the King was juſt going to the Aſſault, when his Diviner began to adviſe him, that he ſhould not attempt it, or at leaſt, that he would defer the attack till another time, for that he foreſaw, if he ventured now, his Life would be in danger. The King looking earneſtly on *Demophoon* [for that was the Diviners Name.] *If any Body*, ſayes he, *ſhould interrupt you in this manner, whilſt you were buſy about your Art, and viewing the Entrails of Beaſts, I queſtion not but you would think him very impertinent and troubleſome. Would you not? Yes indeed, If it pleaſe your Majeſty*, Anſwer'd *Demophoon*. *And do you think then*, replied the King, *that to me that have not the Entrails of Beaſts, but ſo great things as I have before my Eyes, that any thing can be more troubleſome to me, than a Diviner fraught with ſo much*

*much ſuperſtition.* And ſo no ſooner had he ſaid, but without further delay, he Commanded ſcaling Ladders immediately to be raiſed, and whilſt the reſt ſtood in ſuſpenſe, mounts the Wall, which was very narrow. The Creſt of his Helmet was not at that time adorned with the Plume of Feathers he uſed at other times to be known by; but his Beaver was only well laced together every way with a Thong. And therefore the King rather ſtuck than ſtood upon ſuch an edge of a Wall, repulſing with his Shield the Darts that ſhowred upon him on every ſide; for the Enemies from their Turrets ſhot at him on all ſides, and his Souldiers could not approach the Wall to help him, becauſe they were ſo overwhelmed from above with Darts and Arrows, yet at length for ſhame and indignation, that their King ſhould thus by their lagging behind, ſo diſgracefully fall into the hands of the Enemies, paſſing by all conſiderations of danger, they with ſuch precipitation mounted the Walls, that making more haſt than good ſpeed, whilſt one preſt eagerly before the other, ſtriving which ſhould advance the firſt, they over-charged the Scaling-Ladders, ſo that they broke under them, and threw them down, in ſo much diſorder, that the Kings only hopes of being ſuccour'd by them was defeated; and he left, though in the ſight of ſo great an Army, as much alone, and helpleſs, as if he had been in a Deſart. He had already wearied his left Arm, with which he managed his Shield to put off the ſhot made at him, and his Friends cried out to him to leap down back again to them, ſtanding ready to receive him as he ſhould fall: When he venturing upon a moſt incredible and unheard off attempt, the

braveneſs

braveneſs of which, better deſerved the name of famous Temerity, than the glorious title of true Valour, takes a deſperate leap and throws himſelf into the Town full of armed Enemies, though he could ſcarce hope he ſhould have ſo much as play enough to die fighting, and not unrevenged; for he might have been overpowred before he could have riſen, and ſo have been taken alive. He had by good hap, ſo balanced his Body, that he light on his feet. Therefore in the ſame poſture he begins the Fight. And Fortune had made proviſion to hinder the Enemies from encompaſſing him round: for hard by the Wall there was an old Tree that ſpread out large branches on every ſide well cloathed with leaves, as if it had been on purpoſe to protect the King, againſt the thick Trunk of which he placed his back, that he might not be encloſed round, and ſo ſtood and received with his Shield the Arrows and Javelins that were levelled at the forepart of his body: for though ſo many hands were employed againſt one man afar off, yet none of them had the courage to come near him. And their Darts fell more of them on the boughs of the Tree, than on his Shield.

That which chiefly fought for the King, was the Terrour of his Great Name, and next to that, Deſpair, which is a moſt powerful Incitement to a man to beſtir himſelf to die honourably. But new Enemies ſtill pouring on upon him, he at length had received ſuch a multitude of Darts and Arrows on his Shield, his Helmet was ſo battered with ſtones, and his Body ſo wearied with ſuch continual hot ſervice, that his legs began to bend under him; that ſome of the Enemies that were neareſt him, contemning him as

now

now out of a condition to make any great defence, ran heedleſly upon him, two of which he ſo well received with his ſword, that he laid them dead at his feet; which ſo terrified the reſt, that none of them durſt afterward venture near him, but kept on caſting and ſhooting at him afar off their Darts and Arrows. He, though expoſed like a Mark for them all to ſhoot at, yet made a ſhift to maintain himſelf upon his legs againſt them, till an *Indian* ſhot an Arrow of two cubits length (for ſo long we have already told you, the *Indian* Arrows were) which entring in at that part of his breaſt that was next above his right ſide, ſtuck in his Body, with which Wound he was ſo much diſabled, and loſt ſo much bloud, that came flowing out in abundance, that he let fall his Arms like a dying man, being grown ſo weak, that he had not ſtrength enough, with his right hand, ſo much as to pull out the Arrow: which he that had wounded him, obſerving, runs to him with great joy, thinking to have the honour to ſtrip and deſpoil his Body. Whom when *Alexander* felt laying hands on him, (as is probable to believe) being extraordinarily moved at the indignation of this laſt and utmoſt diſgrace he thought could befall his perſon, recals again his almoſt-departed Spirits, and ſheaths his ſword in the naked ſide of his unwary Enemy: ſo that there were now three dead bodies that lay about the King, whilſt the reſt ſtood afar off in a profound amazement; and he deſiring that before his ſtrength and ſpirits quite failed him, he might be ſlain fighting, endeavoured, with the help of his Shield, to raiſe himſelf upright; but finding himſelf not ſtrong enough that way, he took hold of the boughs of the Tree, and ſo endeavours to

riſe;

riſe; but not being able to keep up that way neither, he lets himſelf fall down again upon his knees, and brandiſhing his ſword, defies the beſt of the Enemies to fight him hand to hand. At laſt *Peuceſtes*, after he had beaten off the Defendants, got in at another ſide of the Town, and keeping all along the tract that went cloſe by the Wall, came into the King's aid. Whom when *Alexander* ſaw, ſuppoſing he came not ſo much to ſave his life, as to be a comfort and Companion to him in death, he lay down and covered his tired Body with his Shield: Next came in *Timæus*, a little after him *Leonatus*, and laſt of all, *Ariſtonus*. The *Indians* likewiſe on their ſide, when they heard for certain that the King himſelf was within their Walls, quitting their other Poſts, came all flocking thither, and preſſed hard upon thoſe that defended him; amongſt which, *Timæus*, after he had received many wounds in the forepart of his Body, and fought valiantly, was ſlain. *Peuceſtes*, though he were pierced with three Darts, yet uſed not his Shield to defend his own Body, but the Kings. *Leonatus*, whilſt he was endeavouring to repulſe the Enemies that greedily preſſed on, was ſo dangerouſly wounded in the neck, that he fell down half dead at the Kings feet. And *Peuceſtes*, being quite ſpent with wounds, had now laid down his Shield. All the hopes now remaining was in *Ariſtonus* alone, who being likewiſe grievouſly wounded, was no longer able to reſiſt the Enemies.

In the mean while, it being noiſed about in the *Macedonian* Army, that their King was ſlain, that which would have terrified others, ſet but the ſharper edge upon their Courage; for they

they no ſooner heard this news, but immediately forgetting all dangers, they with Pick-axes broke down the Wall, and entring Pell-mell at the breach, made an irruption into the City, where they killed more *Indians* flying, than fighting, few of them daring to ſtand them: In which ſlaughter they ſpared neither Age nor Sex, thinking every one they met to be the perſon that wounded their King; till at length they ſatisfied their juſt Anger with the entire deſtruction of their Enemies. *Clitarchus* and *Timagenes* report, That *Ptolomy*, who afterwards reigned, was preſent at this Fight; but he himſelf, who would never have contradicted any thing ſo much to his own glory, if true, affirms he was then abſent in an Expedition elſewhere. So much Careleſneſs, or which is as bad, ſo much Credulity were the Compilers of antient Hiſtories guilty of!

When all was over, and the King carried back into his Tent, the Chirurgeons cut off the wood of the Shaft that ſtuck in his body, as cloſe as they could, without moving the barbed point of it; and then ſtripping his body naked, they find it was hooked, and therefore could not, without evident danger to his life, be drawn out, unleſs the Wound were firſt inlarged by an inciſion. And on the other ſide they were afraid that ſo great a loſs of bloud would follow upon an inciſion, as would fruſtrate the intention of the Operation, becauſe that part of the Arrow that was entred into his body, was very large, and ſeemed to have penetrated to his very Vitals. *Critobulus*, though he were a man of the moſt excellent skill of all the Chirurgeons, yet being terrified at ſo great a danger, was afraid to put his hands to the Operation, for fear if the Cure ſhould not ſucceed, the blame,

blame, with the heavy conſequences attending it, ſhould fall upon his head. Which the King taking notice of, and perceiving him weeping and trembling, and grown extream pale with fear and perplexity, thus beſpeaks him.

*What is it you ſtay for, or what time do you wait for, that you do not preſently eaſe me of my pain, though I die for it? What, are you afraid to be thought guilty of my Death, now I have received an incurable Wound?*

Upon which, *Critobulus*, either ſhaking off, or at leaſt diſſembling his fear, began to deſire him, he would be pleaſed to let ſome come to him to hold him ſtill, whilſt he drew out the point of the Arrow, becauſe if he ſhould ſtir never ſo little during the operation, it would be very hurtful to him: But the King anſwer'd, There was no need of any Body to hold him, and accordingly, as he was bidden, he held himſelf ſtill all the while, without flinching in the leaſt; but when the Wound was in this manner much inlarged, and the Arrows point drawn out, the Blood flowed out in ſuch abundance, that the King begun to faint away, and to turn up his Eyes, and ſtretch out his Limbs like a dying Man; which when his Friends ſaw, and that the Blood would not be ſtanched, whatever Remedies they applied, they began to break out into Cries and Lamentations, verily believing the King was dead, till at laſt the Blood ſtopt, and by little and little, he came to himſelf again, and begun to know thoſe that ſtood about him. All that day, and the Night following, the whole Army ſtood in Arms round about the Kings Pavilion, profeſſing all their Lives to depend on his one Breath: Neither would they by any

means retire, till they were assured that he began a little to slumber; and then they went back to their Tents with some certain hope of his Recovery.

The King when he had not been above seven days under Cure, though his Wound was not yet closed up and covered with Skin, yet hearing that it was strongly reported among the Enemies, that he was dead, caused a Pavilion to be set up, upon two Ships joined together, open and conspicuous on every side, that he might the better shew himself to those that thought him dead. By which means, being seen by the Inhabitants of the Country, he dashed the hopes the Enemies had conceived upon that false news.

After which he fell further down the stream, Commanding the rest of his Fleet to keep at some distance from him, that so the rest, which as yet was necessary to his weak Body, might not be disturbed by the noise of their Oars. In four days rowing he came to a Country, which though abandon'd by the Inhabitants, he found well stored with Corn and Cattle, and therefore thought it a very convenient place to rest both himself and his Army in. It was the custom when the King was at any time indisposed, for his Friends, and Life-Guards to watch before his Apartment, which use they then observing, went all into his Chamber. He presently being curious and solicitous to know what news they brought, because they came all in a Body, asked them whether any fresh Enemies were come against them. Upon which *Craterus*, who was desired by the rest, to represent to him the humble requests of his Friends. *Do you think, Sir,* saith he, *that we should be more concerned at the arrival*

*rival of an Army of Enemies, though they were advanced within our very Trenches, than we are for the recovery of your health, which is become now of so little account to your self? Let all the Nations of the World conspire together against us with the greatest Forces they can raise; let them fill the whole Earth with Arms and Men, cover all Seas with Ships, and oppose against us the most monstrous and unheard Beasts, yet you will make us Victorious over them. But which of the Gods can assure us, that this Pillar and Star of* Macedon, *shall continue long with us, when you so eagerly and rashly expose your person to manifest dangers, without considering how many of your natural Subjects your fall would draw after it into the like Fate? for who of us after your Death, would desire to live, or if we would, which of us could survive you? We are advanced to those places under your Command and auspicious Conduct, from whence we can never expect to return to our own homes, unless you lead us back your self. If you were still fighting with* Darius *for the Empire of* Persia, *as no Body would, so could they not, though willing, find any colour or pretence to admire you, for so lightly running upon all dangers that present themselves. For where the danger and reward are equal, both the fruit of good, and the consolation of bad success is so much the greater. But to see you go about with the hazard of your own person to purchase so small a Town, who not only of your own Souldiers, but of any barbarous Nation, that hath heard of your greatness, will commend? With what horrour are we stricken, when we reflect on what we but just now saw. I am ashamed to speak it. The most Cowardly Rascals among the Enemy, would certainly have laid hands on the spoils of your Unconquer'd Body, had not kind Fortune interposed, and preserved you for us. We are as so many Traytors,*

*and ſo many Deſertors for not being able to follow you, and ſhould you pleaſe to brand all your Souldiers with a mark of ignominy, for not doing impoſſible things for your preſervation. I know none of them would refuſe the puniſhment, though none were able to abide it. But I beſeech you, Sir, be pleaſed to debaſe us ſome other way. We are ready to go whither ſoever you ſhall Command us. We deſire to be put upon true honourable Wars, and that ignoble Combats may be left to us. Reſerve your own perſon for occaſions that are proportionable to your greatneſs. The glory that's gotten in triumphing over Cowardly Enemies ſoon loſes its admirable luſtre; and nothing can be more derogatory from it, than prodigally to miſpend it on an occaſion where it cannot ſhew it ſelf.*

The like Remonſtrance was made by *Ptolomy*, and the reſt of the Nobility and prime Commanders, who in concluſion, joining all together, intreated him with an unanimous Voice, not without tears, That he would at laſt reſt ſatisfied with the Reputation he had already, which was great enough to ſatiate any Mans Ambition, and be a little more tender of his own, which was the publick ſafety and preſervation. This tenderneſs and affection of his Friends was ſo extreamly well reſented by the King, that after he had embraced every one of them with more than ordinary familiarity, he Commanded them to ſit down, and thus beſpeaks them.

*Moſt loyal and affectionate Countrymen and Friends, I give you moſt hearty thanks for, and ſhall ever retain a juſt reſentment, not only of the affection you expreſs to me this day, in preferring ſo frankly the preſervation of my Life before your own; but ever ſince the firſt beginning of this War, during the whole courſe of which, you have given me all imaginable*

*marks*

*marks and proofs of Love and good will: So that I must needs confeß, that my Life was never yet ſo dear to me as it begins to be now, by the deſire I have long to enjoy ſuch Subjects as you. But yet my Sentiments are very different from theirs that deſire to die for me. For I eſteem my ſelf to have well deſerved your good affections by my own Merit and Vertue; and you deſire to reap a laſting, and it may be a perpetual advantage by me. I meaſure my ſelf, not by the length but by the glory of my Life. If I had been minded, I might have been contented with the Dominions left me by my Father, and without expoſing my Body to theſe Fatigues, have quietly paſt my Life within the Bounds of* Macedon, *till an obſcure and inglorious old Age had ended my days; though the moſt Cowardly Souls, and the greateſt Lovers of eaſe, that place their only happineß in a long life, are often diſappointed and cut off as well as others, by untimely and painful Deaths: But I who reckon not my years but my Victories, if I know well how to count the favours of Fortune, have certainly lived a great while: For beginning my Empire from* Macedonia, *I poſſeſt my ſelf firſt of* Greece, *and then I ſubdued* Thracia *and* Illyria. *I now Command over the* Triballians *and* Medians, *I poſſeß all* Aſia, *from the* Helleſpont *to the Red Sea; and am advanced not far off of the Worlds end, which when I come to, I intend to paſs to, and to open to my ſelf another nature, and another World. I paſſed out of* Aſia *into the Frontiers of* Europe, *in one Minute of an hour, and being Victorious over both thoſe Regions but a little after the ninth year of my Reign, and the twenty eighth of my Life, do you think it poſſible, that I ſhould yet give over the purſuit of glory, to which I have wholly devoted my ſelf? No, no, I will never deſiſt, and in what place ſoever I ſhall fight, I ſhall always think my ſelf acting*

on the Theater of the whole World. I will, with my Exploits, enoble ignoble places, and discover and lay open to all Nations, Countries that nature had removed far out of their reach. And if in these attempts, I shall happen to lose my Life, I shall think my self to die in the Bed of Honour. For I am descended of such a Race, whose Hereditary Courage obliges me to wish to live rather much than long. Pray be pleased to consider, that we are come into a Country, in which the name of a Woman is highly Renowned for Valour and Conduct; for what brave Cities did Semiramis build? How many Nations did she subdue? What prodigious Works did she undertake? We have not as yet equal'd a Womens Glory, and are we already cloyed with Fame? No, by the favour of the Gods, we have still greater things to do: Nay, and we shall entitle our selves in some sort, to those very things we have not yet reacht, if we shall think nothing little, whereby great glory may be attained. Do you only but secure me from intestine Treason, and domestick Conspiracies, and I will fearlesly defie the dangers of War, and Chances of Battel with Foreign Enemies. My Father Philip was safer at the head of his Army than on a Theater: And he often escaped the hands of his armed Enemies in the Field, but could not avoid those of his own Treacherous Subjects at home. And if you please to reflect upon the ends of other Princes, you shall find more of them murther'd by their own People, than slain by their Enemies. In fine, since I have now a fit opportunity of telling you, what I have a long time designed in my thoughts, I declare to you, that the greatest pleasure and benefit I desire to reap of all my labours and atchievements, will be to have my Mother Olympias, whenever she shall depart this Life, Consecrated and received into the number of the Immortal Deities. If I can, I will perform this be-

*nour to her my ſelf; but if my haſty fate ſhall cut me off before, pray remember that I commanded you to do it for me.*

And having ſo ſaid, he diſmiſt them for that time, but he continued his Quarters in thoſe parts ſeveral days longer. Whilſt theſe things paſt in *India*, the *Grecian* Souldiers the King had lately planted in Colonies among the *Carabactrians*, fell into ſedition among themſelves, and revolted, not ſo much out of diſaffection to *Alexander*, as for fear of being puniſht for the inſolencies they had committed there: for they had killed ſome of the chiefeſt men in the Country, and ſo betook themſelves to their Arms for their ſecurity, and ſeizing on the Caſtle of the *Bactrians*, which was but careleſly guarded, they drew ſome of the *Barbarians* too, to joyn with them in their Rebellion.

Their Ring-Leader was *Athenodorus*, who alſo aſſumed the Title of King, not ſo much out of an ambition of Reigning, as out of a deſire to return into his own Country with thoſe that had put themſelves under his authority. Againſt him *Bicon*, who though his Country-man, bore him a ſpleen, plotted and inviting him to a Feaſt, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated there, by one *Boxus* a *Macerian*.

The next day *Bicon* calling the Souldiers together, made a Speech to them, wherein he over-perſwaded moſt of them, that *Athenodorus* had firſt deſigned againſt his life: but ſome there were that ſuſpected *Bicon* of Treachery; which ſuſpicion by little and little prevailed with ſo many, that the *Grecian* Souldiers took up Arms with a reſolution to kill *Bicon* upon the firſt occaſion they could meet with; but the reſt of

their Commanders interceded ſo with them, that they appeaſed the anger of the Multitude. *Bicon* being thus, contrary to his expectation, delivered from preſent danger, ſoon after ungratefully plots the deſtruction of his Deliverers; but they diſcovering his perfidious Intrigues, apprehended both him and *Boxus*, ſentencing *Boxus* to be killed preſently, and *Bicon* to be tortured to death.

And accordingly the Executioners were juſt going to apply their tormenting Inſtruments to his Body, when all on a ſudden the *Grecian* Souldiers, for what cauſe is not known, as if they had been ſeized with a Fit of a Frenzy, run to their Arms; whoſe tumultuous noiſe when thoſe that had commanded the execution of *Bicon*, heard, they deſiſted from their purpoſe, as fearing they ſhould be hindred from putting it in execution by the furious cries of the Mutineers: which occaſion *Bicon* taking hold of, made toward the *Greeks*, and caſting himſelf, naked as he was, and ſtripped ready for execution, into their hands, appear'd to them on that account ſo powerful an Object of Pity, that the Reſolutions they had taken againſt him were immediately changed to the contrary, ſo that they order'd him to be ſet free. And ſo having by this means twice eſcaped the hands of Juſtice, he returned back into his Country with the reſt that were minded to leave the Plantations aſſigned them by the King. Theſe were the paſſages that happened in *Bactria* and the Frontiers of *Scythia*.

In the mean while there came no leſs than an hundred Embaſſadours to the King from the two Nations before-mentioned, who were all mounted in Chariots, and were all very ſtately, proper tall

tall men, and gallantly accoutred: Their Robes were of fine Linnen interwoven with Gold, and Tyrian Purple. They declared to the King, That they yielded up to him their Perſons, their Cities, and their whole Country; and that he was the firſt Prince to whoſe generous Truſt and Power they ſhould commit their Liberty, which they had for ſo many Ages kept inviolate: That it was not fear, but the perſwaſion of the Gods themſelves, that induced them to this ſubmiſſion, for that they received his Yoak while their Forces were yet entire. The King, after having adviſed with his Council, accepted their ſubmiſſion, and received them as his Subjects, impoſing on them the ſame Tribute both the ſaid two Nations paid before to the *Arachoſians*, commanding them beſides, to furniſh him with 2500 Horſe: All which they obediently performed. The King afterward, being pleaſed to invite the Embaſſadours and Petty Kings of thoſe Nations, to a Feaſt, he commanded a moſt magnificent Entertainment to be prepared. There were an hundred Beds of Gold placed at a convenient diſtance one from another, every one of which were hung round with rich Tapiſtry gliſtering with Gold and Tyrian Purple: Shewing in that one Feaſt, all the Profuſeneſs and Exceſs, the *Perſians* antiently, and the *Macedonians* by a later vanity, ſince the change of their Fortune, were guilty of, and mingling together the Extravagancies of both Nations.

There was preſent at that Banquet, one *Dioxippus* an *Athenian* that was a famous Fencer, and Maſter of the Exerciſes then uſed, that was well known and eſteemed by *Alexander* for his notable ſtrength and dexterity of body. Thoſe who

who envied his good fortune, and were malicious againſt him upon that account, uſed to reflect upon him in their Diſcourſe, ſometimes by way of Jeſting, and ſometimes in down-right Earneſt, telling him, that he was but a pamper'd Beaſt of no uſe that followed the Army, and that whilſt they were marching to engage the Enemy, he lag'd behind, employing his time only in liquoring his Body with Oyl, and preparing his Paunch for ſome delicious Repaſt. And one *Horratus* a *Macedonian*, being got drunk, began to upbraid him with the ſame opprobrious Language at Table, and to challenge him, if he were a man, to fight him next day with a Sword, that the King might judge either of his Raſhneſs, or the others Cowardlineſs: Which *Dioxippus*, as ſlighting the Souldiers Bravado, accepted. And the next morning, they continuing ſtill with more eagerneſs than before, to demand permiſſion to fight, the King ſeeing he could not perſwade them from it, was pleaſed to let them follow their Deſtiny.

A great multitude of Souldiers flockt together to ſee this Spectacle; and among them were the *Grecians* that favoured *Dioxippus*. The *Macedonian* was compleatly armed, holding in his left hand a Braſen Shield, and a *Macedonian* Spear called a *Sariſſe*, and in his right hand a Lance, with a Sword by his ſide, as if he had been to fight ſeveral at one time. *Dioxippus* on the other ſide, oppoſed againſt him only his naked body that ſhone with Oyl, covering his left arm with a little purple Scarf, and holding in his right hand a good ſtrong and knotty Club: which very thing kept the minds of all the Spectators in deep ſuſpence; for every one thought that it was not

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ſo much a Raſhneſs, as an abſolute Madneſs, to fight naked with an armed man. The *Macedonian* likewiſe not queſtioning but to kill ſo ill armed an Enemy, before he cloſed with him, threw his Lance at him, which *Dioxippus* avoiding with a nimble turn of his body, leapt at him, and before he could ſhift his Spear into his right hand, laid hold of it and ſnapt it in ſunder in the middle: Upon which the *Macedonian* having thus left both his other Weapons, drew out his ſword; but *Dioxippus* cloſing with him, ſtruck up his heels, threw him to the ground, and took away his ſword, and then ſetting his foot on his neck, would certainly have knockt out his brains with his Club, if the King had not interpoſed.

The Event of this Combat was diſpleaſing not only to the *Macedonians*, but to *Alexander* himſelf, becauſe it happened that in the ſight of the new-conquered *Barbarians*, the ſo-much-renowned Valour of the *Macedonians*, was thereby ridiculed. This diſguſt of the Kings diſpoſed him to give the more ear to the Calumnies of thoſe who envied *Dioxippus*, who a few days after watching their opportunity, purpoſely hid a Golden Cup, and preſently make their complaint to the King, as if it were loſt. Oftentimes a man can with more conſtancy endure a true imputation, than a falſe one: for *Dioxippus* not being able to ſupport thoſe glances whereby he imagin'd he was marked out as the Thief, retiring from the Banquet, after he had writ ſome Letters directed to the King, ſtab'd himſelf.

The King was troubled at his death, as thinking that deſperate Reſolution of his a mark rather of the indignation he had for being cauſelelly

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ſuſpected, than of his guilt. And in effect, th immoderate rejoycing of his Enemies upon th Accident, ſufficiently manifeſted how falſly the had accuſed him.

After this, the *Indian* Embaſſadours were di miſſed home, and came back again in ſome fe days with Preſents, which conſiſted of 300 Horſe 1030 Chariots drawn with four horſes apiece ſome Linnen-Garments, 1000 Indian Shields, an 100 Talents of Latten, as alſo ſome extraordina ry great Lions and Tygres, both bred tame; an very large Lizards-Skins, and Tortoiſe-Shels.

And then the King giving order to *Craterus* t march with his Army along the River-ſide, h intended himſelf to ſail down, and goes aboar his Veſſels with his uſual Guards and Retinue, and falls down with the ſtream as far as the Fron tiers of the *Mallians*, towards the *Sabracians*, a potent Nation of *India*, whoſe Country he nex entered. They were governed by a *Democracy*, and not by Kings. They had an Army of 6000 Foot, and 8000 Horſe, that were attended with 500 Chariots, over which they had placed three Generals of known Courage and Experience in Martial Affairs. But the Country-people that dwelt near the River (for moſt of their Towns were ſeated on the Bank-ſides) when they ſaw the whole River, as far as they could ſee, cover ed with Veſſels, man'd with ſo many Souldiers in ſhining Armour, were frighted at ſo ſtrange a ſight, and imagined it was an Army of Gods and another *Bacchus* (whoſe name was famous in thoſe parts) that was advancing towards them. For the ſhouts of the Souldiers, and the noiſe of the Oars, together with the voices of the Mariners crying one to another, ſounded ſo terribly

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in their ears, that they fled to those that were in Arms, crying out to them, that it would be madness for them to fight against an Army of Gods; for that the Ships were without number, on which their invincible Forces were embarqu'd, which caused such a consternation in their Army, that they presently sent Embassadors to offer submission, whom *Alexander* received; and after he had taken an Oath of Fidelity from them, pursued his march, and after four days time, came to the Countries of some other Nations, who having no more courage than the rest to resist him, he built a City there, which he commanded to be named *Alexandria*; and thence went on to the Country of the *Musicans*, where Complaints were brought him by the *Parasamides*, against *Terioltes*, whom he had made their Governour, upon which being found guilty of several Insolencies and Oppressions, he condemned him to death. But *Oxatres*, who was Lieutenant or Prætor of the *Bactrians*, was not only cleared from all imputations on the account of the late disorders there, but honoured by the King with an ampler Commission and Jurisdiction. Which done, he conquered the *Musicans*, placed a Garison in their chief City, and march'd towards the *Præstians*, who were also a People of *India*: Their King was named *Oxycanus*, who retired with a great number of choice Troops into a fenced City, which *Alexander* took, after three days Siege, by Assault; upon which, *Oxycanus* fled into the Cittadel, and sent Embassadors to the King, to yield upon Capitulation; but before they could get to him, two of the Towers of the Cittadel fell down with a hideous noise; through the Ruines of which, the *Macedonians* broke into it, and

ſuſpected, than of his guilt. And in effect, the immoderate rejoycing of his Enemies upon this Accident, ſufficiently manifeſted how falſly they had accuſed him.

After this, the *Indian* Embaſſadours were diſmiſſed home, and came back again in ſome few days with Preſents, which conſiſted of 300 Horſes, 1030 Chariots drawn with four horſes apiece, ſome Linnen-Garments, 1000 Indian Shields, and 100 Talents of Latten, as alſo ſome extraordinary great Lions and Tygres, both bred tame; and very large Lizards-Skins, and Tortoiſe-Shels.

And then the King giving order to *Craterus* to march with his Army along the River-ſide, he intended himſelf to ſail down, and goes aboard his Veſſels with his uſual Guards and Retinue, and falls down with the ſtream as far as the Frontiers of the *Mallians*, towards the *Sabractans*, a potent Nation of *India*, whoſe Country he next entered. They were governed by a *Democracy*, and not by Kings. They had an Army of 6000 Foot, and 8000 Horſe, that were attended with 500 Chariots, over which they had placed three Generals of known Courage and Experience in Martial Affairs. But the Country-people that dwelt near the River (for moſt of their Towns were ſeated on the Bank-ſides) when they ſaw the whole River, as far as they could ſee, covered with Veſſels, man'd with ſo many Souldiers in ſhining Armour, were frighted at ſo ſtrange a ſight, and imagined it was an Army of Gods and another *Bacchus* (whoſe name was famous in thoſe parts) that was advancing towards them. For the ſhouts of the Souldiers, and the noiſe of the Oars, together with the voices of the Mariners crying one to another, ſounded ſo terribly

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in their ears, that they fled to thoſe that were in Arms, crying out to them, that it would be madneſs for them to fight againſt an Army of Gods; for that the Ships were without number, on which their invincible Forces were embarqu'd, which cauſed ſuch a conſternation in their Army, that they preſently ſent Embaſſadors to offer ſubmiſſion, whom *Alexander* received; and after he had taken an Oath of Fidelity from them, purſued his march, and after four days time, came to the Countries of ſome other Nations, who having no more courage than the reſt to reſiſt him, he built a City there, which he commanded to be named *Alexandria*; and thence went on to the Country of the *Muſicans*, where Complaints were brought him by the *Paraſamides*, againſt *Terioltes*, whom he had made their Governour, upon which being found guilty of ſeveral Inſolencies and Oppreſſions, he condemned him to death. But *Oxatres*, who was Lieutenant or Prætor of the *Bactrians*, was not only cleared from all imputations on the account of the late diſorders there, but honoured by the King with an ampler Commiſſion and Juriſdiction. Which done, he conquered the *Muſicans*, placed a Gariſon in their chief City, and march'd towards the *Præſtians*, who were alſo a People of *India*: Their King was named *Oxycanus*, who retired with a great number of choice Troops into a fenced City, which *Alexander* took, after three days Siege, by Aſſault; upon which, *Oxycanus* fled into the Cittadel, and ſent Embaſſadors to the King, to yield upon Capitulation; but before they could get to him, two of the Towers of the Cittadel fell down with a hideous noiſe; through the Ruines of which, the *Macedonians* broke into it,

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and took it, and killed *Oxycanus*, with ſome few of his Men, that offered to oppoſe their Fury.

From thence, when he had demoliſhed the Cittadel, and ſold the Captive-Inhabitants for Slaves, he continued his march to the Territories of King *Sabus*, where after he had taken in ſeveral Towns by Compoſition, he took their ſtrongeſt City by a Mine; which to thoſe poor *Barbarians*, that were ignorant of Military Works, ſeemed a Prodigious thing; they not being able to apprehend, how Men could riſe on a ſudden out of the Earth into the heart almoſt of their City, at a place where they never ſaw the leaſt mark of any Cave that had been made there before. *Clitarchus* reports, that there were 80000 *Indians* put to the Sword in that Country, and many made Priſoners, and ſold for Slaves. In the mean while, the *Muſicans*, having revolted again, *Pithon* was ſent to ſuppreſs them, who took their Prince Priſoner, who had been the Author of their Rebellion, and carried him to *Alexander*, who ordered him to be crucified; and then embarques again on the River, where he had appointed his Fleet to ſtay for him; and in four days ſail with the ſtream, came again to a Frontier-City of the Kingdom of *Sabus*, who though he had but a little before yielded himſelf to *Alexander*, yet the Citizens obſtinately refuſed to obey him, in making the like Submiſſion, and ſhut their Gates againſt the Army. *Alexander* deſpiſing the ſmall number of the Defendants, commanded a Party of 500 *Agrians* to advance towards the Walls, and afterwards, to retreat by little and little, on purpoſe to draw the Enemies out of the incloſure of their Walls after them, not doubting but they would eagerly purſue them,

them, if they could but make them believe they fled. The *Agrians* accordingly, as they were commanded, when they had given a falſe Alarm to the Enemies, ſuddenly turned their backs, whom the *Barbarians* too eagerly and careleſly purſuing, fell among another Party that lay in Ambuſh, where the King himſelf was in Perſon: So that a new Fight began, in which, of 3000 *Indians*, there were 600 killed; and 1000 taken Priſoners; the reſt eſcaped into the Town. But though this Victory ſeemed at firſt joyful to the Victors, yet the event of it proved but ſour to them. For the *Indians* had poiſoned their Arrows, ſo that thoſe who were wounded with them, died every where up and down the Army, to the great ſurpriſal of the Chirurgeons, who could not imagine what ſhould cauſe ſo painful a death; the ſmalleſt Wounds received that way, being incurable. The *Barbarians* thought by that ſtratagem, to have entrapt the unwary and venturesom King: But he, though he fought that day among the foremoſt, yet luckily eſcaped unhurt.

Amongſt the wounded, the King was moſt of all concerned for *Ptolomy*, who had received a Wound on his left ſhoulder, that was but ſlight, but very dangerous: He was his near Kinſman; nay, ſome thought he was the Son of King *Philip*; it being certain that his Mother was one of his Miſtreſſes. He was likewiſe one of the Guards of his Body, and a couragious Souldier; and yet greater and more famous in Civil than Military qualifications, going in a decent, but modeſt Habit; being very liberal, and eaſie of acceſs, and taking nothing of Princely ſtate upon him. For which commendable Qualities, it was hard

hard to judge, whether he were more favoured by the King, or beloved by the People. But that was the firſt occaſion which gave him proof of the Affections of his Country-men, which were ſuch, as if the *Macedonians* had had in that danger of his, ſome preſentiments of the Greatneſs to which he afterwards mounted; for they were no leſs ſollicitous for *Ptolomy* than for the King, who being tired out both with fighting and with care, and yet not willing to quit *Ptolomy*, by whoſe Bed-ſide he continued to ſit, order'd a Bed to be brought for himſelf to lie in, into the ſame Room. Upon which he no ſooner laid himſelf, but a profound ſleep ſeized him, in which he dream't, as he related when he wak'd, that he ſaw an Apparition, in the form of a Dragon, holding a certain Herb in his Mouth, which he offered to him as a Remedy for the Venom which had proved ſo miſchievous. And he ſo lively remembred the ſhape of the Herb, that he ſaid, he ſhould know it again, if any one could find it. And accordingly, after a diligent ſearch, in which many were employed, the Herb was found, and applied to the Wound, the pain of which was thereupon immediately taken away, and the cure compleatly effected in a little time after. The *Barbarians* finding their firſt deſign had failed, preſently yielded up themſelves and their City. From whence the Victors marched towards the *Parthalian* Nation, whoſe King *Mæris* thereupon quitted his City, and fled into the Mountains. *Alexander* therefore takes the City, and ravages the Country, from whence they drove great numbers of Cattel, and brought away great quantities of Bread-corn; and then taking with him ſome Pilots, that knew well the

courſe

courſe of the River, he ſail'd down lower to an Iſland ſituate almoſt in the middle of the Channel, where being forced to ſtay longer than he intended, becauſe the Pilots that had been taken, had made their eſcape by the careleſneſs of their Guards, he ſent out a Party to look for ſome more; but they being not able to find any, ſo eager was his Paſſion to go and ſee the Ocean, and purſue his Progreſs to the ſuppoſed ends of the World, that he made no doubt, even without Pilots, to venture his own Perſon, and the lives of ſo many thouſand valiant Men, on an unknown River. They therefore continued their Navigation, though ignorant of all the places they paſſed by, and the circumſtances attending them: For they had but a doubtful conjecture, how far diſtant the Sea was from thence, what Nations inhabited the Coaſts, how quiet or dangerous the Mouth of the River was: The only thing they had to keep up their Courage in ſo bold an Enterprize, was the perpetual Felicity that hitherto had followed them. When they had ſailed about 400 Furlongs, the Commanders of the Ships give notice to the King, that they began now to ſmell the Sea, and that they thought the Ocean was not far off. At which News, the King being much joyed, fell to encouraging the Mariners, ſtoutly to ply their Oars, telling them, they were now near the end of all their Labours, ſo much deſired by them all, that nothing was wanting to compleat their Glory, no obſtacle in the way to ſtop their Valour from finiſhing its full carſere. But that now without endangering themſelves any more in Battel, or any more expence of Blood, they would be Maſters of the whole World. That the bounds of Nature could

not extend any further than thither; and that in fine, they would ſhortly ſee things that were unknown to any but the Immortal Gods themſelves. Yet he ſent a ſmall party on ſhoar, to ſurprize what Peaſants they could find ſtragling abroad, hoping by them to learn ſome more certain intelligence of things; who, upon a diligent ſearch in all the Cottages in thoſe Parts, at laſt, found ſome lurking there, who being demanded, how far the Sea was thence? anſwered, they had never ſo much as heard there was any Sea, but that in three days ſail, they would come to a Water that was bitter, which corrupted the ſweet Water. By which, underſtanding that the Sea was meant by thoſe poor People that were ignorant of its Nature: the Mariners thereupon with extraordinary briskneſs plied their Oars, the ardour of their minds redoubling every day as they drew nigher the place of the accompliſhment of their hopes. On the third day they came to a place where the Sea as yet with but a gentle Tide confounded together the two different Waters; and then advancing to another Iſland that was likewiſe in the middle of the Channel, with ſomething a ſlower pace, becauſe the Current began to give way to the Tide, they put in thither with their Fleet, and went aſhore, running about to ſeek Proviſions, not thinking of the Accident that befell them through their Ignorance. It was about the third hour, when the Tide at its regular time began to flow in, and drive the freſh Current backward; which at firſt, being only ſtopped, at length was repulſed more vehemently, and flowed upwards with more violence than the rapid ſtreams of Torrents. The nature of the Sea was unknown

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to the Common Souldiers, who thought they had ſeen ſomething monſtrous, and that portended the anger of the Gods. For the Sea ſwelling high, overflowed the Fields, which but a little before were dry; which carrying the Ships higher, and diſperſing the whole Fleet, they who were gone aſhore, run trembling thereupon from all parts back towards their Ships, as Men amazed at ſo unexpected a miſchance. But in a Tumult, commonly over-much haſte does but hinder the ſpeed deſired; for while ſome endeavour to hale the Ships to them with Boat-hooks, others hinder them as much, while they waſte time in conſidering whether they ſhould uſe their Oars or no: And ſome making over-much haſte to put off, without ſtaying for the reſt of their Ships Company, with much ado move forward their half-man'd, and therefore unweildy Veſſels. Others running over-haſtily, and in too great numbers at once to board their Ships, hindred one another from entring; ſo that by their inconſiderate haſte, they either took not a number ſufficient to manage their Ships, or elſe by the thronging of too great numbers, were hindred in boarding them, or over-charged them: And while ſome cried out on ſhore to their Companions to ſtay for them, and others begged as loud to put off, their confuſed and diſſenting voices demanding and commanding contrary things at once, made ſuch a horrible noiſe, as deprived them both of the uſe of their Eyes and their Ears. Nay, the Commanders were as helpleſs and inſignificant as the reſt; for neither could their voices be heard in ſuch a Tumult, nor their Commands be readily obey'd by Men frighted, and wholly diſordered: So that

the Ships began to fall foul on one another, and the Oars to be carried away with the Waves; and ſome of the Mariners to make themſelves way, by puſhing off other Ships in their way, that one would not have thought they had been all of one Fleet, but rather two Fleets engaged together in a Sea-fight: The heads of ſome Ships run againſt the ſterns of others; and they again who had ſo diſturbed thoſe before them, were alike preſſed by thoſe that followed them, that at length the Confuſion was ſo great among them, that they quarrelled in earneſt, and fell to blows one with another. And now the Tide had overflown all the Marſhes about the River, excepting here and there ſome Hillocks, that appear'd like little Iſlands, which many of the affrighted Mariners choſe rather to ſwim to, than their Ships. The whole Fleet being thus ſcattered, ſome of the Veſſels rode in deep Water in the bottom of the Vallies, and ſome again run on Banks and Shallows, becauſe the ground the Water had overflown, was ſomething unequal; when all on a ſudden again, their fears were renewed by a freſh and more terrible Accident than before: For the Tide began to ebb, and the Waves to return back into their proper Sea with a ſwift and mighty Current, and reſtored again to their view, thoſe Lands that before were covered with a profound Sea. So that the Ships being thus deſerted by the Water, pitched ſome on their Prows, and ſome on their Sides. The Fields were ſtrewed with Knapſacks, Arms, and broken pieces of Boards and Oars: And the Souldiers were afraid both to venture on Land, and ſtay aboard their Ships, fearing ſtill greater evils to come, than thoſe they ſaw: Nay, ſuch was their Conſterna-

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tion, that they could not tell whether they might believe their own Eyes in what they ſuffered; that they ſhould make Ship-wrack on dry Land, meet with the Sea on a River, ſeemed to them incomprehenſible; ſo that they deſpaired to ſee any end of their Sufferings: For they alas, were ignorant that the Sea next Tide would bring back Water enough to carry off their Ships, and therefore expected nothing but to periſh with Hunger, and ſuffer all other Extremities imaginable. And to add to their Terror, horrible and monſtrous Fiſhes, wanting Water to ſwim, wallowed up and down among them, and Night grew on; that even the King himſelf began to be extreamly concerned, and in a manner deſpond: Yet could not care ſo much oppreſs his great and invincible Spirit, but that he watched all Night in Perſon, in the Watch-Towers, and ſent out a party of Horſe toward the Mouth of the River or Haven, to give notice when the Tide was coming in again, that they might put off, and go down with it. He likewiſe commanded the Ships that were endamaged, to be repaired; and thoſe that were over-turned by the Waves, to be raiſed upright; charging them all to wait, and be in readineſs againſt the Tide ſhould return to over-flow the Land. At length, after he had ſpent the whole Night in watching, and encouraging his Men, the Horſe-men he ſent forth, came back with full ſpeed, and were followed as faſt by the Tide, which at firſt gently gliding under them with its Billows, only ſet the Veſſels afloat, and afterwards over-ſpreading the whole Fields, drove them along with it; upon which, the Mariners, over-joyed at ſo unexpected a deliverance, gave ſuch a ſhout, that they made

the ſhore ring again with their loud acclamations. Yet could they not, but as Men ſtruck with great Admiration, queſtion mightily among themſelves, from whence ſo great a Flood ſhould ſo ſuddenly return thither, whence it had fled but the day before; and what was the nature of that Element, that ſo ſtrangely was ſometimes confined to Times and Seaſons, and ſometimes unbridled. The King upon this, judiciouſly conjecturing by what had already happen'd, that after the Sun was riſen, the Tide would ebb again, to be before-hand with it, fell down the River with a ſelect Squadron of Ships, and paſſing out of the Havens mouth, ſail'd about 400 Furlongs into the Sea: And ſo when he had at length thus ſatisfied his deſire, after he had ſacrificed to the Gods of the Sea, and the peculiar Deities of thoſe places, he returned back again to his Fleet.

From thence they went up the River again, and after one days tugging, came to Anchor near a ſalt Lake, whoſe unknown Nature deceived many that ventured to go waſh themſelves in it, for their Bodies grew all ſcabby, and the Diſeaſe was likewiſe infectious; but it was cured with Oyl. Then the King ſending *Leonatus* before with a Party, to dig Wells all along thoſe Parts, by which it might be thought moſt expedient he ſhould march his Army by Land, becauſe it was a very dry Country, he himſelf with the reſt of his Forces, reſolved to take up his Winter-Quarters there till the next Spring. During which interval, he built ſeveral Cities, and commanded *Nearchus* and *Oneſicritus*, his moſt experienced Sea-Commanders, to put out to Sea with the beſt and ſtrongeſt Veſſels, and go as far

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as ſafely they could, in diſcovery of the Nature of the Sea, telling them, they might put in again either at the ſame River, or at the mouth of *Euphrates*, when they were minded to come back to him. And then when Winter was over, after he had burnt ſuch Ships as were unſerviceable, he took his march by Land with his Army, and in nine days came into the Country of the *Arabites*, and thence in as many more, to that of the *Gedroſians*; who being a Free People, after they had held a Council, yielded themſelves, which when they had done, no other Tribute was impoſed on them, but only a proportion of Victuals for the Army. In five days march more he came to a River called *Arabos* by the Natives, beyond which, there is a very deſart Country, and deſtitute of Water, which having paſſed, he march'd on againſt the *Horrites*, where he committed the main Body of his Army to the Conduct of *Hæpheſtion*, dividing the Light Horſe into three bodies; Commanding one himſelf, and *Ptolomy* and *Leonatus* the other two. Thus the *Indians* Country was harraſſed by three Bodies at once, and great Booties were taken; for *Ptolomy* waſted the Sea-coaſt, the King himſelf the mid-land parts, and *Leonatus* the other ſide of the Country. He built likewiſe a City there, and planted in it a Colony of *Arachoſians*. From thence he marched to another vaſt and deſart Country of *Indians* upon the Sea-coaſt, whoſe People have no kind of Commerce with their neighbouring Nations: And the very ſolitude of the place has added ſomething to the ſavageneſs of their Diſpoſitions, that were rough-hewn enough by Nature before. They let their Nails grow, without ever cutting them, and wear

their Hair ſhagged, without combing or cutting; they are clothed with Furs of Wild Beaſts, and feed on the fleſh of Fiſhes dried in the Sun, as likewiſe on that of the greater and more monſtrous Fiſhes the Sea caſts on their ſhore.

The *Macedonians* therefore after they had conſumed the ſtores they brought with them, firſt began to ſuffer ſcarcity of proviſion, and afterwards an extream Famine, being forced to dig up and down every-where for Palm-tree-roots (that being the only Tree growing there) to ſuſtain themſelves; which ſorry proviſion likewiſe failing them, they fell a killing their Carriage-Beaſts, not ſparing ſo much as their Horſes; ſo that when they had thus bereaved themſelves of the Beaſts that uſed to carry their Baggage, they were forced to make Bonefires of the precious Spoils they had gotten from their Enemies, and for which they had taken ſo tedious a march to the utmoſt confines of the Eaſt. This Famine was followed by a Peſtilence: for the uſe of Meats of an unwholſome juice, and contrary to their Conſtitutions, and the toils and fatigues of their march, together with the perplexity of their minds, had bred ſuch Epidemical Diſtempers among them, that they could neither ſtay there, nor go forward, without great Mortality: for if they ſtayed, they pined with Hunger; and if they marched, the Peſtilence followed them ſo much the more fiercely. So that the Fields were every-where beſtrewed with more half dead than quite dead Bodies. And thoſe that were diſtemper'd, were not able to follow the reſt, though they marched never ſo ſlowly; for the Army marcht away a kind of a flying pace, every one imagining the more ground they got, the nearer they

they advanced towards the hopes of their delivery. Therefore thoſe that were unable to march, deſired all they met with, both ſtrangers and others, to be ſo charitable as to carry them: but there being no Beaſts left to ſet them on, and the ſoundeſt Souldiers being hardly able to carry their own Arms, and being beſides frighted at ſo doleful a ſight that repreſented to them the dreadful danger that threatned themſelves too, if they lingred, would not, though they were ſo often and pitifully importuned to it, ſo much as endure to look back on their own beſt Friends or Relations, all mercy and compaſſion being ſmothered in them by the exceſſiveneſs of the fear that poſſeſſed them: Upon which, thoſe miſerable Souls ſeeing themſelves thus abandoned, began to intreat them by the love of the Gods, and by the reſpect to the Religion they profeſſed in common with them, and laſt of all, to implore the Kings aſſiſtance; and when they ſaw that all was in vain, and that they preached to the deaf, they grew raving with deſpair, curſing their fellow-Souldiers, and wiſhing them the like horrid end, and the like hard-hearted Friends and Companions they had met with themſelves.

The King being not only much troubled at their lamentable complaints, but likewiſe ſomething aſhamed and confounded, becauſe he himſelf had been the cauſe of ſo great and miſerable a Mortality, diſpatched preſently away to *Phrataphernes*, Governour of the *Parthenians*, to ſend him ſome Camels loads of Proviſions ready dreſt. He likewiſe ſent to all the other Governours of the neighbouring Countries, to inform them of the extremities he was in, who were not backward in ſupplying him; ſo that at laſt, without

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effecting any thing elſe there, but only, and that with much ado too, to reſcue his Army from ſtarving, he led them to the Frontiers of *Gedroſia*, which is a Region that alone abounds with all things not elſewhere to be found in one Country, where he thought fit to quarter his Army a while, that his tired and ſickly Souldiers might recover their health and ſtrength again by a competent reſt.

There he received Letters from *Leonatus*, with advice that he had fought a Battle with 8000 Foot, and 500 Horſe of the *Oritians*, and had defeated them: at the ſame time he had news from *Craterus* out of *Perſia*, that he had ſuppreſſed a Rebellion raiſed there by *Ozines* and *Zariaſdes*, two Noblemen of that Nation, and had taken them Priſoners. Wherefore leaving *Siburtius* Governour of *Gedroſia*, (for *Memnon* the former Governour of it was newly deceaſed of a Diſeaſe) he went himſelf into *Carmania*, of which *Aſpaſtes* was Governour, who was ſuſpected to have deſigned a Revolt, whilſt *Alexander* was in *India*; whom when he came out to meet the King, he received very graciouſly, and with the ſame honour as before, diſſembling his diſpleaſure, till he might find proof of the Treaſon of which he was accuſed.

And the ſeveral Governours of *India* having, according to his commands, ſent him numerous Recruits of Horſes, Beaſts of burthen, and all ſorts of drawing Beaſts, out of every Province that was ſubject to his Empire; he furniſhed with new Baggage all his men who had loſt them, and gave them new Arms as before: for they were not far from *Perſia*, which was not only peaceable, but full of Riches. Therefore, as we have already

dy hinted, having an ambition to equalize not only the Glory that *Bacchus* brought back out of thoſe Countries, but likewiſe the Fame and Reputation he left behind him there, being inſpired as 'twere with a Spirit that ſoared above the pitch of humane Nature, without examining whether the extravagant Proceſſion made by his Army there, were a ſort of a triumph firſt inſtituted by *Bacchus*, or only a Frolick of his drunken Followers, he reſolved to imitate it. And accordingly, he cauſed the Streets through which he was to paſs, to be ſtrewed with Flowers and Garlands, and large Bowls and other capacious Veſſels full of Wine, to be ſet at the doors of every houſe; and Waggons and Carriages that were large enough to hold ſeveral Souldiers, covered at the top after the manner of Tents, ſome with white Canvas, and ſome with richer Hangings, to be placed all along in ranks. And then began the Proceſſion, in this order: Firſt marched all the Courtiers, and the Kings Guards crown'd with ſeveral ſorts of Flowers and other Garlands, with Pipers on the one ſide, and Harpers on the other, ſounding with their beſt skill; then followed the whole body of the Revelling Army in their Carriages that were furniſhed with Victuals, according to their ſeveral Qualities, and all hung about with the richeſt Arms they had: And as for the King himſelf, he with his ſelect Gueſts, rode in a Chariot heavily laden with golden Cups, and other Drinking-Veſſels of the ſame Metal, of the largeſt ſize. And in this manner the Army continued their Drunken Proceſſion for ſeven days together; and ſo made themſelves, after all their Victories, a cheap and an eaſie Prey to the People they had conquered, had they had but the leaſt

leaſt courage to attack them whilſt they were thus Revelling: For moſt certain it is, that one thouſand ſober men might have taken and defeated them all, whilſt they were over-charged with ſeven days continual Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, in celebrating that mad Triumph. But Fortune, that alone gives Fame, and ſets a value on things, did them the favour to interpret that which was properly the diſgrace of all their Military Exploits to their glory: And the then preſent Age, and ſucceeding Poſterity, have juſtly admired, how it was poſſible, a company of drunken men ſhould run madding about among Nations not yet wholly ſubdued, without being cut off, and that thoſe barbarous People ſhould be ſo ſtupid to take that for Courage or Valour in them, that was the higheſt Act of Temerity. But this Feaſt was cloſed with a Tragedy, the Executioner bringing up the Rear; for the Governour *Aſpaſtes*, before-mentioned, was by the King's command put to death: ſo far is Cruelty from abating Luxury, or Luxury from taking off the edge of Cruelty.

The

# The Tenth Book.

MUch about the ſame time came *Cleander* and *Sitacles*, *Agathon*, and *Heracon*, who had executed the King's Command on *Parmenio*, and joyned *Alexander* with 5000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe. But no ſooner were they arrived, but many out of the Province, which, after *Parmenio*'s deceaſe, they had been Governours of, followed them to make complaint to the King of many Outrages committed by them, which were indeed ſo many, and ſo heinous, that the good ſervice which in *Alexander*'s eſteem they had done him in killing *Parmenio*, could not at all countervail for them: For after they had made havock of all the places which were not dedicated to any ſacred uſe, they ſacrilegiouſly fell to pillaging the Temples alſo. Many Virgins too, of noble Extraction, made their complaint that they had been raviſhed by them: Which ill behaviour had rendred the very name of a *Macedonian* odious and contemptible among all the *Barbarians*. But of all the Incivilities there committed, that which *Cleander* ſtood accuſed for was the baſeſt: for he had not only deflower'd a Lady of Quality, but afterwards given her to his Servant for a Concubine.

Yet could not the Tears of the Complainers, or their numerous and juſt Complaints, ſink ſo deep into the minds of many of the King's Friends,

Friends, as the memory of *Parmenio*, which yet they would not mention, leſt it ſhould too much incline the King to pity the Executors of his Rage, upon whom they were glad that ſuch misfortune was fallen; and that their Power, ſo ill acquired, ſhould be ſhort, and laid down with infamy.

*Alexander* having heard the Accuſers out, added himſelf, That the greateſt Crime they could have objected, was quite omitted; which was the hopes the Malefactors had certainly conceived of his periſhing in *India*, without which they durſt not have attempted ſuch horrid Villanies. Therefore he commanded all the chief to be bound and impriſoned, but about 600 of the Souldiers, who had been buſie actors in theſe Calamities, to be forthwith executed. The ſame day thoſe whom *Craterus* had apprehended as the great Inſtruments of Sedition in *Perſia*, were brought to condign puniſhment. Soon after, *Nearchus* and *Oneſicritus*, whom he had ſent to ſail up farther into the Ocean, to make diſcoveries, returned and brought ſome, partly on their own knowledge, partly upon report: That at the mouth of the River *Indus* was an Iſland which abounded with Gold, and had no Horſes but what were brought from the Continent, and ſold for a Talent apiece. That they had ſeen divers Sea-Monſters, which when the water was calm, would glide eaſily along, and diſcover as much of their Body as would equal a great Ship. That they would follow them as they ſailed along, and being frighted, at their ſinking would make as much noiſe as a Tempeſt. Theſe Prodigies themſelves had ſeen, and beſides them, had divers Reports of the Natives, amongſt which, one was concerning the name

name and nature of the Red Sea, that the one did not give occaſion to the other, as many had reported, but that it was ſo called from a King named *Erithrus*. That not far from the main Land was an Iſland which was very full of Palm-trees, and that in the midſt of the Grove there yet ſtood the Monument of King *Erithrus*, with an inſcription upon it in the Language of that time and Country: Adding, that many Ships with Merchants and Slaves, going thither upon the report of abundance of Gold, had never been more ſeen or heard of.

Theſe things poſſeſſed *Alexander* with a great deſire of making a farther enquiry into thoſe places, ſo that he commanded to put to Sea again, and to coaſt along the ſhore till they came to the mouth of *Euphrates*, and then againſt the ſtream to go to *Babylon*. In the mean time he had vaſt deſigns in his mind, intending firſt to conquer all the Sea-coaſt of the Eaſtern Ocean, and then to paſs from *Syria* into *Africa* alſo, to be reveng'd upon the *Carthaginians*. From thence he was to paſs through the deſert places of *Africa*, as far as *Gades*; for there Fame reported, that *Hercules* had fixed his Pillars. Then was he to travel through *Spain*, called by the *Grecians*, *Iberia*, from the River *Iberus*; and paſſing over the *Alps* into *Italy*, from thence to take the neareſt paſſage to *Epirus*.

In order to accompliſh theſe prodigious intentions, he gave order to his Vice-Roys of *Meſopotamia*, to fell Timber in *Libanus*, and conveying it to *Capſagæ* a City in *Syria*, to build Ships big enough for ſeven Oars on a ſide, and forthwith bring them to *Babylon*, after they were launched. To his Lieutenants in *Cyprus* he ſent for Iron,

Hemp,

Hemp, and Canvas enough to rig out his Navy. About this time he received Letters from *Porus* and *Taxiles*, that *Abiſares* was dead of a Diſeaſe; but *Philip* his Lieutenant was treacherouſly murthered, and that his Murtherers were put to death for the ſame. In *Philip*'s place he put *Eudemon*, who was General of the *Thracians*. In *Abiſares* his place he ſet his Son. *Paſargades*, a Province of *Perſia*, was the next place he came to, over which *Orſines* was Governour, a man who exceeded all the reſt, as well in Nobility, as in Riches and Treaſure. Among his Progenitours he could reckon *Cyrus*, once Emperour of *Perſia*, and his Riches he had gotten partly by inheritance, partly by long enjoying an Authority ſo profitable. He met the King in his way with divers Preſents to offer both to him and his Attendants; among which were many young Horſes, and Chariots adorned with Gold and Silver, rich Furniture for Houſes, valuable Jewels, and Veſſels of Maſſie Gold; and beſides all theſe, four thouſand Talents of Silver ready coyned. But this oſtentation of his munificence proved the cauſe of his death: for among the King's Friends was one *Bagoas* a Eunuch, to whom only, among all the reſt, he preſented nothing, though he was indeed in great favour with *Alexander* for the abuſe of his Body; and this was ſufficiently urged by many to him, that ſhe ought to preſent him who was ſo great a Favourite of the Kings. But he anſwered, 'That ſuch of the King's Friends 'as were like to do him ſervice, he honoured; 'but ſuch as he, he deſpiſed: and thoſe who abuſe 'themſelves after that unuſual and beaſtly man-'ner, neither he nor his Anceſtors ever reſpected. Theſe words ſo exaſperated the Eunuch, that he made

made uſe of that Favour, which he had gotten by diſhoneſt means, to procure the death of that noble and innocent Prince. For he ſuborned ſeveral of *Orſines* his own Country-men to witneſs many horrid Crimes againſt him, whenever he ſhould command them. He in the mean time, whenever the King was alone, failed not to inſinuate many ſtories againſt *Orſines*, but ſtill concealed the grudge, leſt they ſhould make him take no notice of them. *Orſines*, though as yet he had no crime laid to him, nor was ſuſpected of any, yet had he loſt much of his Reputation with the King. All the inſinuations of his Enemy were ſo private, that he had no knowledge of the danger he was involved in: for when the baſe Accuſer was concerned with the King, and had inflamed him with Luſt, he ſtill forgot not to urge his ſuſpicions of *Orſines*, that he was certainly covetous, and might be prevail'd upon to rebel. So that the time grew nigh to produce his Evidence; and the fate of *Orſines*, which was inevitable, was hanging now over his head.

For it hapned that *Alexander* had commanded the Tomb of *Cyrus* to be open'd, intending to perform certain Ceremonies in honour of his memory, as he gave out, though indeed it was for no other account, but that it was univerſally reported in *Perſia*, that the Vault was filled with Silver and Gold; but nothing was found there but a rotten Shield, two Scythian Bows, and a ruſty Scimitar. Yet *Alexander* cauſed a Crown of Gold to be ſet upon the Coffin, and laid over the Cloak which himſelf was wont to wear, and declared, that he could not but admire that ſo famous a Monarch, and ſo rich, ſhould have no more coſt beſtowed on his Interment, than one of

his ordinary Subjects. As he ſpake this, the Eunuch gave attention, and approaching near him, looked in his Face, uttering this cunning inſinuation. *What wonder is it that deceaſed Kings Monuments are ſo empty, when the Noble-mens Houſes abound with it? As for me, I had never the honour to ſee the Tomb of* Cyrus, *yet I have oft heard from* Darius's *own mouth, that with* Cyrus *there were buried* 3000 *Talents. Hence proceeded the Munificence of* Orſines, *who did well to buy your Favour with that, which he knew he durſt not keep from you.* At this he perceived the King ſufficiently prepared for his other deſign; in that inſtant therefore he produced the perjured wretches to ſwear againſt him many crimes, which he was innocent of; nor was he more innocent than ignorant of the matter; ſo that he was bound before he knew either his Accuſer or Accuſation. Nor did the ſpight of the Eunuch reſt ſatisfied with his Puniſhment, until himſelf had put his helping hand to the Torments; whom *Orſines* looking ſternly upon, *I have heard,* ſaid he, *that in* Aſia *Women have reigned, but never that an Eunuch ſhould be advanced to the Sovereign Command.* This was the end of the moſt Noble of the *Perſians,* one who was not only innocent of what he was put to death for, but was well affected to *Alexander,* and had ſhewn himſelf generous toward him. About the ſame time, *Phradates,* upon ſuſpicion of affecting the Crown, was Executed. For *Alexander* began then to be too credulous, and apt to be impoſed on; and not ſo only, but very ready to inflict ſeverer Puniſhments than the Offence deſerved. So powerful is Proſperity in altering a mans very Nature; and ſo hard is it for a man to know how to bear it. For he who not long

before

before could pardon *Lynceſtes Alexander*, though prov'd guilty by two Witneſſes; who generally forbore puniſhing any humble and repenting Rebel, if all were not well ſatisfied that he was guilty, though himſelf believed it. He who had been ſo liberal, as to beſtow Kingdoms on his Enemies, was now ſo degenerated from his former ſelf, that at the Requeſt of a Proſtitute, even againſt his own inclination, he could raiſe ſome to Imperial Dignity, and take that and their lives alſo from ſome others. About this time he received Letters from *Cænus*, concerning the Affairs of *Europe*, during his Conqueſts in *India*. *Zopyrius*, who was his Vice-Roy in *Thrace*, preparing for an Expedition againſt the *Getes*, by ſudden Storms periſhed with his whole Forces: Upon which, *Seuthes* had excited the *Odryſians* his Country-men to revolt; ſo that in a manner all *Thrace*, and moſt part of *Greece* was loſt.

After this, *Harpalus*, who was *Alexander*'s Treaſurer in *Babylon*, having fled with 5000 Talents, and ſome Men, landed at *Sunium*, a Promontory near *Athens*, from whence he intended to have entred the Haven of that City. Upon which, *Alexander* being equally incenſed againſt the one as the other, ordered a Fleet to be equipped, with an intent to viſit *Athens* in Perſon. But while Preparation was making, he received private News, that *Harpalus* had indeed been at *Athens*, and with his Money corrupted the minds of ſome of the chief Nobility: But at a Common-Council of the People, was forced to depart out of the City, and put himſelf into the hands of the *Greeks*; in his way to whom, he was ſlain by a certain Traveller, or one under that Diſguiſe. This did not a little pleaſe him, that his Journey into

*Europe* was thus prevented: But he laid his Commands on the *Græcian* Cities, to entertain any of their baniſhed Neighbours, provided his Offence was not Murther. All the Cities, but *Athens*, call'd home their baniſhed Men, and reinſtated them in their Goods and Offices. But *Athens*, who were ever obſtinate ſticklers for their own and their Country-mens Liberty, and not being uſed to ſubmit to any ſuch Arbitrary Commands, refuſed to give Harbour to the ſcum and dregs of the People, whom ſo little before they eſteemed not fit for converſation; reſolving to ſuffer any extremity, rather than readmit thoſe who had been the ſcandal of their City.

Now began *Alexander* to conſider, that many of his Souldiers were grown Old, and had done him great Service; that his Conqueſts in *Aſia*, by reaſon of the many Gariſons he had left, and the Colonies he had planted, might eaſily be kept in their Obedience by a ſmall Power; wherefore he intended to ſend the eldeſt, and moſt unfit for Service, to their Country, and chooſe out 13000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe to be his Guard in *Aſia*. But before he determined who ſhould go or ſtay, he made Proclamation, that every Man ſhould declare all his Debts; which, though many had brought themſelves into by their own Extravagancy, yet he reſolved to diſcharge, becauſe he perceived they lay hard upon them. This was lookt on by the Army as ſome State-Policy, to ſee who were the moſt Prodigal; whereupon they delayed to obey his Commands. The King ſoon perceiving that it was ſhame, not obſtinacy that made his Command not obeyed, cauſed Tables to be raiſed throughout the Camp, and

and 10000 Talents to be laid thereon. After which, and promiſe made of no harm being intended thereby, they made their confeſſions of their Debts, all which being paid, remain'd but 130 Talents of 10000; ſo profuſe were the Conquerours of that Rich Country, that they carried nothing out but the Glorious Name of Conquerours. But no ſooner were they ſenſible of the true deſign of ſending ſome Home, and retaining others, but immediately all imagined that he would reſide all his Life, and keep his Court in *Aſia*; ſo that forgetting their Duty and Allegiance, they filled the Camp with ſeditious ſpeeches, and boldly came to the Kings preſence, and demanded leave for all to depart home; begging, that after ſo many ſcars, and their Hair grown white with Age, they might die in their Native Country. Neither the diligence of their Commanders, nor the reverence of the Kings Perſon, could pacifie them ſo much, as to forbear interrupting the King as he was about to ſpeak to them; but they with a tumultuous noiſe would not ſuffer what he ſaid to be heard; all ſolemnly and unanimouſly proteſting, that they would not ſtir one foot from that place, unleſs towards their own Country. At laſt, thinking that he was rather moved to comply with theirs, than that they did with his deſires, they ſilently waited for what he would ſay. *What means,* ſaid he, *this unuſual and inſolent Tumult, followed by ſo general a conſternation? I am almoſt afraid to ſpeak, where I ought to command; and am become ſuch a Titular King, that you dare thus affront me to my face, and refuſe all my Advice and Admonitions; nay, will not ſuffer me to ſpeak to you, or look upon you. How unjuſt are your ſeditious Acclamations!*

*tions! when I hear the very voices of them whom I have appointed to go, as well as of those that ſtay, with whom I my ſelf will ſhortly viſit my Native Kingdom. What ſhall I think of this behaviour, when all alike appear to reſent an Injury, as you eſteem it, though ſo few are concerned in it. I deſire to know more particularly your Grievances, whether they who are to go, or who are to ſtay, are diſpleaſed with me?* Then would you have imagined that all had anſwered together, as indeed the general cry was, *All, All:* To whom he replyed, *Certainly it cannot be, you can never perſwade me, that to be the cauſe which you in your actions manifeſt, becauſe the greater part is not concerned in it; for I have determined to diſmiſs the greater part of my Army. No, no, it muſt be a greater, a more dangerous Evil, to alienate all the hearts of my Souldiers from me; for when-ever did you hear of a King utterly deſerted by his Subjects? The very Slaves run not in companies from their Maſters, but ſhame detains many from leaving them quite deſtitute. But why do I forget your unparallel'd Impudence, and endeavour to reclaim irrecoverable Traytors? I now lay aſide all the hopes of your Obedience, and whom I would have uſed as Souldiers and Country-men, I will now treat as ungrateful and perfidious Rebels. But my ſelf, my kindneſs in lifting you up to this height of Proſperity, is the cauſe of all your bold Attempts: Fitter far are ſuch baſe Spirits, as cannot bear proſperous, to ſuffer all the extremities of adverſe Fortune. Are thoſe that not long ago were poor Tributary People to the* Illyrians *and* Perſians *grown ſo proud, as to diſdain the moſt flouriſhing part of the World? Are thoſe who fought half naked under my Father, already weary of Purple Garments, and offended with the dazling ſplendour of Gold and Silver? Do you*

*long*

*long for your wooden Diſhes, your ruſty Swords, and weak Shields? In this condition I received you, being* 500 *Talents in debt, when my whole Revenue amounted not to* 60. *Yet in this condition did I lay the Foundation of my Conqueſt (as I may truly, and therefore without boaſting ſay) of the whole World. But you are weary of* Aſia, *the Scene of your Actions, which will eternize your Memory. You are for going to* Europe, *for deſerting me your King, though in your Journey you had begged or ſtarved, had not I diſcharged your debts. But are you not aſhamed to think of returning to your Wives and Children, without any more ſigns of your Victories, than what appear in your fat and pamper'd bodies? Go and pawn your Armor in your Journey, for Victuals; I ſhall want no ſuch Souldiers that have nothing left them but their Concubines. I, with the* Perſians, *will defend my Conqueſts; as for the* Macedonian *ingrateful Traytors, the way lies open, haſte, be gone: Think you that your Relations will joyfully receive you, who have baſely expoſed your King to his foreign Subjects? I'le Triumph in your flight, and take a perpetual Revenge of your Treachery, by honouring thoſe* Perſians *you have left behind you, and preferring them before you. Now ſhall you ſee what the unweildy Body can do without its Head, what, and how much is placed in me alone.* And immediately he leaped down from his Throne, and threw himſelf into the midſt of the armed and enraged Multitude; and with his own hand ſeized on ſome, whom he had obſerved notoriouſly impudent and forward in the Sedition; thirteen of whom not daring to reſiſt, he committed to cloſe Cuſtody. And who could imagine that an Army ſo outragious before, and ſo boldly ſeditious, could have been quieted in ſo ſhort an Harangue, ſo ſtruck with Terror

and Amazement, that not one durſt offer to hinder his Companions from being led to Execution. That ſo incredible a licentiouſneſs as had ſpread throughout all the Army, ſhould be ſo ſoon appeaſed; which made them ſo far from attempting any Reſcue of them condemned, that all ſtood with a fearful expectation of their own Sentence. Whether this may be attributed to the general Reverence moſt Subjects pay their Prince, or that particular which they payed him, is uncertain, or whether his own Conſtancy and Reſolution in ſeeing his Command performed immediately, wrought this wonderful effect. But they ſhewed a noble inſtance of reſignation to their Prince, not only not murmuring at the death of their Companions, whom they knew were put to death in the Night, but all ſtriving to cancel the remembrance of his paſt Crimes with a more entire Obedience, and readineſs to put his Commands in execution. For the next day admiſſion being denied them into the Palace, and granted only to the *Aſian* Souldiers, their late ſeditious Clamours were turned into mournful Complaints, in which they told the King, that unleſs he would be fully reconciled, they could not endure to live any longer. But *Alexander* was a man too obſtinate to change his Reſolution ſo ſoon; for he firſt confined the *Macedonians* to their Tents, and called a Council of the *Perſians*, to whom by an Interpreter he made this Harangue.

*My intention*, ſaid he, *in leaving my own Country, was the incredible deſire, and the hopes I had of adding many noble Nations unto my Hereditary Kingdom, which I have performed according to my deſire. But beſides the fame of your Valour, I find one incom-*

*incomparable quality in your Natures, which is a conſtant and unſhaken Loyalty towards your Prince. By the Fame of the Riches of your Country, I imagined you all diſſolved in Luxury, and your Spirits ſteeped in abounding Pleaſures. But how do I rejoyce to find it contrary to my expectation? Your Bodies not weakned by Intemperance, are ſtrong, and fit to undergo the hardeſt fatigues of War; but what is above all to be commended, your conſtant Loyalty. This I do not now diſcover, but I have been ſatisfied of it long ago. For this Reaſon did I chooſe you alone out of ſo many Nations, and naturaliz'd you my own Subjects and Country-men: There is no difference in your Habits, nor in your Armour, in all things like them, only in Obedience and Submiſſion to Command far more eminent. You are not ignorant that I have made the Daughter of* Oxatres, *who was by Law of Arms my Priſoner, my Wife. After that, deſiring to get Heirs, I married the Daughter of* Darius, *and was the firſt Author of marrying my neareſt Friends to their Captives, being deſirous to take away all difference between thoſe whom the fortune of War made Subjects, and thoſe who ſubdued them. Imagine then me to be your Natural Prince, and you born not adopted Subjects;* Europe *and* Aſia *are now all one Kingdom: You wear* Macedonian *Armour, and you are now both my Country-men and Subjects. I hold it not inconvenient for the* Macedonians *and the* Perſians *to imitate mutably each others laudable Cuſtomes: The ſame Laws and Cuſtomes ſhould be obſerved by all the Subjects of any abſolute Monarch.* After this Speech, he choſe his Life-Guard and Attendants out of the *Perſians*, and made them Miniſters of Publick Juſtice; ſome of whom were appointed to Execute thoſe *Macedonians* who had begun the Sedition; but one of the graveſt

of

of the Criminals thus ſpake before his death. *How long*, ſaid he, *will our King give way to his Paſſion, to Execute ſo many of his Subjects, and thoſe after ſtrange Cuſtoms too, which is worſe than the death we ſuffer. Conſider, Gracious Sir, your Souldiers, your Country-men, are for an unknown cauſe led to ſlaughter; and what aggravates it, by our Captives themſelves. If you do judge us worthy of Death, at leaſt change our Executioners.* Had *Alexander* been in a good Temper, this had been good Advice; but his Anger had quite put him beſides himſelf. Wherefore the ſecond time, ſeeing thoſe that had charge of them, ſtaying, in hopes he would Pardon them, he commanded them to be thrown into the River bound, where they miſerably periſhed. But not even this moved any Sedition among the Souldiers. For the Officers and the Souldiers in great numbers repaired to his Attendants, to deſire him to Command the reſt that had offended him to be put to death. *Let him kill us*, ſaid they, *we loſe our lives a Sacrifice to his Revenge.* But when he had proceeded ſo far, as to beſtow great Titles of Honour on the *Perſians*, to name them after the *Macedonians* manner, and they ſaw themſelves utterly deſpiſed, they could no longer endure their grief, but all running towards the Palace, and putting off all their Armour and Cloaths before the Gates, in token of Repentance, with tears and prayers they deſired to be admitted to the Kings Preſence, deſiring him to glut himſelf with their Blood, rather than load them with ſo much Ignominy and Diſgrace; alledging, that without Pardon, they would not depart. When this was told to the King, he went out to the Palace-Gate; where he no ſooner appeared, but they

they began to lament their miſerable condition, which indeed by the Garments they wore, appeared to be ſo, and to declare their Repentance in ſuch mournful accents, that he himſelf could not abſtain from ſhedding ſome Tears; ſo that by their humble ſubmiſſion they obtained their Pardon. Firſt, he mildly reprehended them for their paſt faults, and afterward comforted them again, disbanding many, and giving very noble Preſents to them at their departure. And ſending his Letters-Patents to *Antipater*, his Deputy in *Macedon*, commanding that at all Publick Shews and Solemnities, they ſhould not only ſit in the chief ſeats, but have Triumphant Lawrels on their heads; and that the Children, after their Fathers deceaſe, ſhould enjoy their Stipends. *Craterus* was to lead them home, and had Commiſſion to be Vice-Roy of *Macedonia*, *Theſſalia*, and *Thracia* inſtead of *Antipater*, who was to repair to *Alexander* with a ſupply of luſty Youths to be trained up in the War. For *Alexander* had long ago by Letters from his Mother *Olympias*, and this *Antipater*, perceived there was no great Friendſhip between them. His Mother endeavoured to inſinuate his affecting the Kingdom: *Antipater* wrote, that ſhe did many things not becoming her Quality; who taking it ill, that he ſhould be recall'd, ſecretly reſolved to poiſon *Alexander*.

After things were thus ſetled in this part of his Empire, the King went to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, to ſettle his Affairs there alſo. Here he inſtituted ſeveral Shews, and appointed ſolemn Feaſt-days. About the ſame time happened a ſad miſchance; for *Hæpheſtion*, whom the King dearly loved, even as his Brother, died of a Fever; for which

*Alexander*

*Alexander* was extreamly ſorrowful, ſo that he did many things unbecoming the Grandeur and Majeſty of ſo great a King. The unfortunate Phyſician, as if he had not employed his utmoſt Skill, was hang'd. He himſelf would fall down and embrace the breathleſs Body of his Friend, and could ſcarce be taken off by his Attendants; Night and Day he bewailed him without intermiſſion. Many other incredible and improbable reports are ſpread of his behaviour, but ſo much is certain, that he commanded Sacrifice to be offered to *Hæpheſtion*, as to ſome Heroe; and in his Funeral and Tomb were ſpent above 12000 Talents. As he returned from hence toward *Babylon*, he was met, and deſired by the *Chaldean* Soothſayers, not to enter into it; the Reaſon they gave was, that it portended no leſs than the loſs of his life. But he deriding them and their Predictions, refuſed to alter his Reſolution. For it was reported, that Embaſſadors were come, by Reaſon of his Fame, from all Parts of the World, to viſit him, and waited for him at *Babylon*, adding, that ſuch was the Terror, which he, that was born to be Lord of all the World, ſtruck into all Princes, that already they ſent to Complemnet him. This was the Reaſon he made ſuch haſte to *Babylon*, where he nobly entertained all the Embaſſadors, and courteouſly diſmiſſed them. Not long after, one *Theſſalus*, an Eminent Phyſician, invited the King and Court to a Collation; where at his beginning a Health out of the Bowl of *Hercules*, before he drank it off, he gave a deep groan, as if he had been ſtab'd through the Heart. Immediately was he carried out of the Company for dead, and continued in ſo great torment for ſome time, that he deſired

a Sword wherewith to end his Misery: A sad presage of his approaching Fate! His Attendants gave it out, that his Intemperance had brought him into this condition; but indeed it was base premeditated Treason, the infamy of which, though it reflected on his Successors, was buried with him, and oppres'd by their greatness. For *Antipater* prepared the Poison, and gave it to his Son *Cassander*, who with two more of his Sons were Cup-bearers to *Alexander*: He laid a strict charge not to disclose it to any body, except *Thessalus* or his two Brothers. *Philip* and *Jollas* were Tasters to the King, and having tempered the Poison in Water, after they had tasted the Cup, poured it in. When he had lain in that condition four days, the Souldiers, either believing him dead, and that it was concealed, or not being able to live without his presence, came sorrowfully into the Court, desiring to see their King; who commanded his Attendants to introduce them, which accordingly was performed.

To have seen their Tears, and the condition *Alexander* then was in, would have made one have thought that they bewailed a dead Prince, rather than visited one living. But the nigher any approached to the spectacle, the more conspicuous was their grief, which *Alexander* taking notice of, said, *You will find when I am in my Grave, a King worthy to Rule over such Subjects.* 'Tis almost incredible, that he in that state should without any alteration of his Countenance, or his Posture, receive the Farewel of every particular Person of the Army; and no sooner was this Ceremony over, but, as if he had then discharged the debt of Nature, he began to sink into the Bed; and calling his Friends nearer,

nearer, (for his voice began to fail) he pulled a Ring from his Finger, which he gave to *Perdiccas*, commanding him to see his Body carried to the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. And then being asked, To whom he left all his Empire? He answered, *To the most deserving*; by which 'tis easie to imagine, that he had great apprehensions of what Distractions and Wars would follow upon his Death. *Perdiccas* asked him, *When he would have Divine Worship paid to him?* He answered, *When you are in your greatest Felicity*. These were the last words of this Glorious Monarch, soon after which he dyed. At first, immediately after his Departure, the whole Palace resounded with Weeping and Lamentation; but on a sudden all things were in a deep silence, a dreadful dulness had seized their Spirits, and their grief for what was past, was turned into the wracking consideration of what was to ensue. The Pages of Honour that waited on him, were quite distracted with sorrow, nor could they be confined to the Palace, but like Men raving, they filled the whole City with their Lamentations, omitting no Complaints, no signs of Grief, that this solemn occasion could furnish them withal. Without the Palace it was hard to distinguish which wept most, the *Macedonians*, or the *Persians*; the Conquerours, or the conquered. The *Persians* lamented a just and merciful Governour, the *Macedonians* a Couragious and Fortunate King; between whom was a kind of sad contention in the mighty sorrow. Nor were the effects of Woe only, but those of Anger and Indignation too heard; for many cryed out, the envious Destinies had snatch'd him away in the Flower of his Age. How oft would they call

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to mind the vigour and alacrity that appeared in his Countenance, when he led them to Battel, at the Siege of a City, at the mounting the Walls of it, or at his recounting and praiſing their noble Actions in a publick Aſſembly? Then began the *Macedonians* to repent their denial of Divine Honours to him while alive; for this they now called themſelves ungrateful, ſince they were ſatisfied he ſo well deſerved it when he was dead. Thus for a time was their pity wholly employed on the death of the King; at laſt, they began to commiſerate their own condition. They were as far from *Macedon*, as beyond *Euphrates*, and in the midſt of their Enemies; always deſpiſing, but now eſpecially, their Yoak. That they were deſtitute of an Heir to the Empire, which would encourage many particular Perſons to draw the ſtrength of the Kingdom to their ſide: This naturally led them to the conſideration of the diſmal conſequences of Civil Wars. That now their Blood muſt be ſpent, not for Dominions for their King, but for a King. That their old Wounds muſt be opened afreſh upon ſo ſad an Occaſion. That thoſe who by reaſon of their Age and Infirmities were diſcharged from the Wars, muſt now ſpend the little remainder of their lives in the ſervice of ſome one who hath been their fellow Souldier. In theſe diſtracting thoughts they ſpent the Day, and Night doubled all their ſaddeſt apprehenſions. The Guards kept Centry armed; the Citizens peeped out from the tops of their Houſes, to ſee the certain event of this buſineſs. No one durſt light a Candle, and becauſe their Eyes could not inform them, they ſtrived to hear what they had reaſon to be afraid of; from which receiving falſe Alarms, many

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ſtriving to run through by-paths, met others, to whom they were themſelves ſuſpicious. The *Perſians*, after the manner of their Country, ſhaved their hair off, and putting on Mourning Apparel, ſolemnly with their Wives and Children bewailed him, not as an Enemy or a Conquerour, but as a juſt and compaſſionate Prince, and their Natural one too. They confeſſed, no Man ever deſerved their Rich Empire ſo well as he did. Nor did the City, how big ſoever it was, contain their Grief. The ſad Tidings ſoon reach'd not the neighbouring Province only, but all that part of *Aſia* on this ſide *Euphrates*; ſo that it ſoon came to the ears of *Darius* his Mother, who tearing the Garment ſhe had on, and putting on a mourning one, with torn and diſ-ſhevel'd Hair ſhe threw her ſelf upon the ground. By her ſate one of her Nieces, who was in Mourning for *Hæpheſtion*, to whom ſhe had lately been married. She indeed had a particular cauſe of weeping; but *Siſigambis* alone had many cauſes for all her ſorrow. She bewailed her Nieces and her own condition; and the preſent misfortunes put her in mind of thoſe paſt. One would have thought her Son *Darius*, nay, two Sons, had claimed her Lamentation: Nor did ſhe weep for the dead, but for what was to fall on the living. *For who*, ſaid ſhe, *will take care of theſe Young Women? Who will or can be another* Alexander? *A ſecond time are we made Priſoners, and have again loſt no leſs than our Empire. After the death of my Son, we found one to take care of us; but after* Alexander, *I fear we ſhall ſcarce find any.* Then did ſhe repeat the ſorrow of that day wherein *Ochus* ſlew her Father and eighty Brothers; and called to mind, that of ſix Children born of her Body, only one now remained

remained alive; that one of them indeed flouriſhed a while, but as if it had been only to make his downfal the greater and more notorious. At laſt, quite drowned in her tears, ſhe covered her face, and turning from her Nephew and Niece, ſhe abſtain'd from all Meats whatſoever, and from the light of the Sun. In this condition ſhe lived four days, and dyed on the fifth: whoſe death was an Evidence of *Alexander*'s Indulgence to her, and Moderation to all his Captives, becauſe after the death of *Darius* ſhe overcame her ſorrow, which was ſo great for the death of *Alexander*, that ſhe voluntarily reſolved not to ſurvive her Preſerver. If we would give a true Character of that Great King, we muſt acknowledge his good Qualities to have been inherent in his Nature; the Vices he was guilty of, the Companions of proſperous Fortune, or of Youth.

He was endued with an incredible conſtancy, and preſence of mind; in enduring labours and travel, ſtrong; and above almoſt what became him, patient; in valorous performances more forward and able than thoſe who made them their only Employ; and ſo liberal to ſubmiſſive Petitioners, that the Gods could ſcarce give, or they deſire, more or greater Benevolences. Of his incomparable Clemency to thoſe he conquered, there are no fewer Monuments, than the Kingdoms he ſubdued, all of which he either reſtored to the former poſſeſſions, or beſtowed freely on others. Death, the Bugbear to the reſt of Mortals, and the fear of which oft proves as effectual as it ſelf, he durſt conſtantly contemn in its horrideſt ſhapes. He was above meaſure ambitious of Praiſe and Glory, yet not above what was agreeable with the heat of his Youth,

and his never-failing Fortune. His Piety was eminent to his Royal Parents, for he severely reveng'd his Father's Murther, and intended Divine Honours to his Mother *Olympias* at her death. How familiar and easie of access to his Friends? How liberal and free to his Souldiers? His Conduct was equal to his Courage, and above what his years could promise, was he politick in Warlike Stratagems. He kept a constant sway over his Affections; Venereal sports he used not, nor any other pleasure but what was lawful and commendable. With all these incomparable good Qualifications was he endowed. But the greatness of his Fortune had by little and little sullied these shining Accomplishments: for he grew to be too angry and severe against those who opposed him in his desire, to be reckoned among the Deities, and have Divine Worship paid to him; and such as seemed incredulous of the Oracles declaring him the Son of *Jupiter*, felt his displeasure. To this we may adde, the laying aside his own Country habit, and degenerating into the customs of barbarous Nations, which equally, with their persons, he had contemned before his Conquest. As to his immoderate Passion, that might be ascribed to his adding Wine to the heat of his Youth, both which Vices, Age, without doubt, would have qualified. Yet must his greatest Admirers acknowledge that he owed more to Fortune, than his own Valour, though that was really invincible; and of all men, he seemed to have had the greatest command of his Fortune. For how oft did that alone preserve his endangered life? how often did he rashly expose his person to almost inevitable danger, yet continually was he

delivered

delivered by Fortune; and enjoying an uninterrupted courſe of her favours, felt no misfortune before his death: which he himſelf could not judge too ſudden, ſince after the Conqueſt of the Eaſt, and the ſight of the Ocean as much as a Mortal could, and more than any ever did perform.

To this Illuſtrious, this Heroick, and Warlike Prince, was a Succeſſour wanting; and no wonder, ſince the weight was too heavy for any one mans ſhoulders: and Fame had ſo ſpread his Actions throughout the habitable World, that the Partakers in ſome few only of his Exploits, were looked on as great and fortunate men.

But to return to *Babylon*, the tragical Scene of Affairs from which I have made this digreſſion: The chief of his Attendants immediately ſent for the ſuperiour Officers of the Army, who came and were followed by a great number of Souldiers, to know the Succeſſour to their dead King. Many Officers, by reaſon of the multitudes of common Souldiers, were kept out, ſo that proclamation was made, that all ſhould retreat, but who were called by name. But their Commands, without force to back them, were rejected. And preſently was to be heard a great lamentation, which again, with expectation of the event, was turned into a deep ſilence.

Then *Perdiccas* placed the Throne in ſight of the whole Army, in which were the Imperial Diadem and his Apparel, with the Armour he was wont to wear. This ſtirred in them afreſh the thoughts of their dear Maſter, and thoſe thoughts, tears; then *Perdiccas* ſpake to this effect, laying the Ring, which the King had given him, on the Throne. *Thus*, ſaid he, *do I reſtore the Ring*

*to you which my Royal Master was pleased to honour me with, the Ring which sealed and ratified all the affairs and business of the Kingdom. But though no affliction can be added to ours by the Gods, were they never so much concerned, yet if we consider the many and famous Actions of our late victorious Monarch, we must conclude that the Gods sent this Illustrious Hero into the World for some vast designe; and consequently, that since he performed it, he is now received among them his eternal Progenitours. Wherefore since his body is mortal and must perish, let us now perform all the Ceremonies due to his happy memory; all the Honours which such a King, such a Commander may challenge in a conquered City from his endeared Souldiers. We must seriously consider, my fellow-Souldiers, that to defend the Conquest gained over so great Countries, the same way must be used as acquired them; I mean, a Head must be chose to this vast Body, and 'tis in your power whether that Trust shall be committed to me or to more. For you cannot be ignorant that an Army without a Commander, resembleth a dead Body.* Roxana *hath now gone six months with Child, let us petition Heaven it may be a Son; and may he, when he comes to age, enjoy the Kingdom: but in the mean time determine what Government you will have among your selves.* This was the Opinion of *Perdiccas.*

Then *Nearchus* gave his, That none questioned the right that *Alexander*'s Issue had to the Kingdom, but in that juncture of affairs, the *Macedonians* could not stay till the growth of an unborn Prince; but that they should rather place the Crown on the Son which *Alexander* had by *Barsine.* This Opinion was not approved of at all; wherefore according to the custom of their Country, they continued to make a noise with their Darts

Darts and Targets, which, together with *Nearchus*'s obſtinacy in urging his Opinion, had almoſt bred a Sedition, had not *Ptolomæus* thus interpoſed: *The Off-ſpring indeed both of* Roxana *and* Barſine, *are one as fit as another to reign over the* Macedonians; *but ſhall not we bluſh, to own one for our Emperour in* Europe, *whoſe bloud is mixt, having an allay in it, of that of a Captives? Have we conquered the* Perſians *for this, to become Vaſſels to their Poſterity? To grant that tamely, nay to chuſe it, which both* Darius *and* Xerxes, *in their greateſt ſplendour, with the loſs of many thouſands of men and Ships, did in vain attempt to force us to? No, far be it from us to ſtoop ſo low: This is my opinion; That the Throne of deceaſed* Alexander *be placed in the Court of the Palace, and that as oft as any matter of conſequence is to be debated on, all they who were of his Privy Council be aſſembled where the majority of Votes ſhall determine the buſineß, of which all the inferiour Officers of the Army ſhall ſhew their approbation by immediately obeying their Orders.*

More were of *Ptolomy*'s mind than of *Perdiccas*, but *Perdiccas* had thoſe of greateſt Authority. And at laſt *Ariſtonus* ſtood up and declared his Opinion was, that *Perdiccas* was clearly intimated by *Alexander* to be his Succeſſour; for that when he was asked who ſhould ſucceed him, at the ſame time that he made anſwer, *The moſt deſerving*, he delivered his own Royal Signet to *Perdiccas*: nor that he did it while alone, but that he ſingled him out of all his Friends, who at that time ſtood around him; which was a plain demonſtration of his deſire to have *Perdiccas* his immediate Succeſſour.

To this, without the leaſt doubt, they all conſented; therefore all cryed out for him to come

into the midſt, and take up the Ring bequeathed to him by his Royal Predeceſſours. He ſtood wavering for ſome time, being as much detained by his Modeſty, as urged on by Ambition: for he thought that the more he declined the ſeeming weight, the more they would preſs it upon him. In this confuſion he remained a good while, till at laſt he withdrew a little, and ſtood behind the Seats of the Counſellours, ſo long, till *Meleager*, being encouraged with his doubts, ſtood up, and ſaid, *The Gods forbid*, ſaid he, *that the Fortune of* Alexander, *that the glorious Empire of the Eaſt, ſhould devolve on his ſhoulders; what men will be able to endure that? I need not reckon up how many ſit among us, ſuperiour to him both in Birth and Princely Endowments, without whoſe conſent it is not fitting for him to enjoy that Dignity. Nor is it any difference, whether we proclaim* Roxana's *Off-ſpring Heir to the Crown, or immediately ſet it on the head of* Perdiccas, *ſince under the pretence of being the King's Guardian in his Minority, he will rule all himſelf. For this reaſon would he chuſe an Infant, or an unborn King. 'Tis he alone who would wait for the conſummation of months and years, in this great exigence wherein we ought ſpeedily to chuſe a King. He prudently divines, that it ſhall be a Man-child; which Divination, by a ſmall change, he can eaſily bring to paſs. And had it been as true as I really think it falſe, that* Alexander *had nominated him for his Heir, I ſhould look upon this Command to be the onely one we might lawfully and with Piety contradict. Why do not we all ſeize on the Treaſure? for that each common Souldier is an Heir.*

As ſoon as he had thus ſpoken, he ruſhed through the Croud, and led them to the place where all the Treaſure was kept. In the midſt

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of the Croud gathered about *Meleager*, when the Aſſembly was quite turn'd into a Sedition, a certain obſcure *Macedonian* cryed out, *What need*, ſaid he, *have we of Arms, and a Civil War, to fight for a King, ſince the Heir of the Crown is ſo manifeſt? Is not* Arideus *the Son of* Philip, *and the Brother of* Alexander, *was he not brought up under the ſame Diſcipline? Why therefore is he forgot by your hatred and inconſiderate Determinations? What hath he been guilty of, that he ſhould be defrauded of what the Law of all Nations declares to be his Birthright. If only ſuch another as* Alexander *muſt ſucceed him, where, alas, can ye hope to find him: But if the next in Blood is Heir, this is undeniably the perſon.*

This ſudden Speech cauſed as general a ſilence in the Croud, as if it had been ſpoken with Authority; at laſt they all cryed out, That unleſs *Arideus* was ſent for, all ought to be puniſhed as Traytors, that entred into Conſultation. With this, aroſe *Python*, having tears in his eyes, and thus ſpake: *Now, if ever, would* Alexander *eſteem himſelf miſerable, were he alive, conſidering that his Souldiers look only on the Name and Memory of him, not on the good of the Empire.*

This Speech did more than tacitly reflect on the young man deſigned for the Crown; but it procured himſelf more hate, than contempt to *Arideus:* for the pity they entertained for *Arideus*, made them favour his Cauſe. Wherefore they unanimouſly declared, That they would acknowledge none for their King, but one of the Blood-Royal, and ceaſed not to call for *Arideus*. And *Meleager*, who hated *Perdiccas*, brought him to the Aſſembly, and ſaluted him King by the name of *Philip*.

So far was the opinion of the vulgar only fulfilled; the ſentiment of the Nobility differed far

from this, among whom *Python* ſided with *Perdiccas*, and began to name *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus*, both of the Royal Family, to be Tutours to *Roxana*'s Child; adding that *Craterus* and *Antipater* ſhould have the dominions in *Europe*. Then they gave an Oath to the Souldiers to own the Iſſue of *Roxana* for their Prince. *Meleager* had now great reaſon to expect ſome miſchief; wherefore he with his Party withdrew for a while, but he ſoon returned, and bringing the new King into the Court-yard, demanding in the Kings name, aſſiſtance to his perſon whom they had ſo lately choſen; and deſiring them to make tryal of one who had a King to his Father and his Brother.

No Sea, never ſo tempeſtuous, can raiſe more Waves, than the various Mobile doth ſeveral Commotions at the leaſt proſpect of any future Liberty. Many held with *Perdiccas*, but more with *Arideus*, though they knew not their own minds for a great while; ſome were angry with themſelves for their opinions, and yet ſoon after embraced them; but at laſt the moſt part ſeemed inclinable to the Royal Line.

*Arideus* was not a little terrified at the Authority of the Nobility, ſo that he left the Aſſembly; at which the Peoples voice for him was rather ſilenced, than their opinion changed againſt him. At laſt he was recalled, and immediately the Royal Habit of his Brother was put upon him. And *Meleager* marched as one of his Guard, armed *Cap-a-pee*. The whole Phalanx expreſſed their joy by beating their Darts and Shields together, and vowed that he ſhould pay his bloud for his offence, whoever affected the Kingdom which he was not born to; avowing to continue the Kingdom ſtill in the Royal Family, whom they

they would defend to the laſt. For ſince they obeyed their Kings Commands with ſo much veneration, they would not ſuffer any one of meaner Extraction to enjoy that Dignity. This ſoon alarmed *Perdiccas*, wherefore with 600 choſen Men, and with *Ptolomy* and the King's Life-Guard, he ſtood to defend the place where *Alexander*'s Body lay: But in vain; for ſo many thouſands of armed men eaſily forc'd their way, among whom appeared the King. This mightily enraged *Perdiccas*, who called ſuch to him as would defend the Body of their dead King; but they were wounded by many of the adverſe Party. At laſt, the oldeſt of the Souldiers, taking off their Head-pieces, that they might be known, deſired them of their own ſide to abſtain from Civil War, and not reſiſt their King. *Perdiccas* firſt laid down his Weapons, and was followed by the reſt. *Meleager* entreated them to ſtay by the Body; but *Perdiccas* thinking that ſomething was contrived againſt his life, fled to that part of the Court near the River *Euphrates*. The Horſe, conſiſting moſt of Young Noblemen and Gentlemen, followed *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* in great numbers, who intended to leave the City, and take the Field. But *Perdiccas* having ſome hope that the Foot alſo would ſide with him, remained in the City, becauſe he would not be thought to be the occaſion of the Horſe ſeparating from the reſt of the Army.

But *Meleager* was continually counſelling the King, that the only way to raiſe his Kingdom, muſt be by the death of *Perdiccas*; that he was ſo continually puft up with his Deſerts, that he would be continually inſtilling that Ambition into others, that tormented himſelf: That he knew

too

too well himſelf his own ſervices to the Crown, and it would be very raſh and inconſiderate to truſt one, whom he might for his Greatneſs be afraid of. The King rather ſuppreſt his thoughts by ſilence, than approv'd of that Counſel. But *Meleager* made bold to make uſe of his ſilence for conſent, and in the King's Name he ſent for *Perdiccas*, commanding the Meſſenger, if he refuſed to come, to make away with him. *Perdiccas* hearing there were ſome of the Guards ſent to Apprehend him, ſtood in the Porch of his Houſe, attended only by ſixteen Young Gentlemen, and calling the Meſſengers *Meleager*'s Slaves and Tools, he ſo daunted them with the bravery of his Courage, that they were forc'd to return almoſt frighted out of their wits. *Perdiccas* commanding the Gentlemen to take Horſe, came inſtantly to *Leonatus*; and now he was better guarded againſt future injuries. The next day the *Macedonians* grew mightily diſpleaſed that *Perdiccas* ſhould go in danger of his life, reſolving to revenge his injury on *Meleager*. And going to the King's Tent, they ask'd him, if he had commanded *Perdiccas* to be ſeiz'd on: He anſwered, he had; but at the inſtigation of *Meleager*: But commanded them to forbear mutining, for that *Perdiccas* was as yet alive. *Meleager* was troubled moſt at the revolt of the Horſe, ſo that he was ſcarce himſelf; for he perceived, that the danger he had deſigned for another, would fall upon himſelf, for three days he did nothing but penſively conſider the ſtate of the buſineſs. But the Affairs about the King were adminiſtred after the ſame manner as uſually they were. Embaſſadors had their Audience, the Captains and chief Officers continually attended on the King,

and

and the Guards ſtood Centry at the Palace-Gate. But the ſorrow which appear'd in the looks of the whole Army, was a ſufficient Teſtimony what uneaſie thoughts they harbour'd in their breaſts; they uſed no freedom with one another, but ſtill kept in mind the happineſs they enjoy'd under their late Sovereign; which compared with their preſent misfortunes, made them wish for their late King. They pitifully ask'd what was become of *Alexander*, who had led them through all dangers, that they were left amongſt a multitude of enraged barbarous Nations, who were very likely upon any occaſion to revenge themſelves for all the Blood they had ſpilt. They were tormenting their minds with ſuch ſorts of thoughts as theſe, when News came, that *Perdiccas*'s Horſe, having ſeized on the Fields that were adjacent to *Babylon*, hindred the importation of Corn and Proviſion: So that at firſt there was a Scarcity, and after that enſued a Famine. And they who were in the City, thought it convenient either to reconcile themſelves to *Perdiccas*, or decide the Controverſie in a Pitcht Battel. It chanced that thoſe that dwelt in the Villages, for fear of being deſtroyed, had fled to the City; on the contrary, the Towns-men being oppreſs'd by want, thought it moſt expedient to fly to that place from whence the others came, for Relief; ſo much more deſirable doth another mans condition ſeem than his own.

The *Macedonians*, not a little concerned at ſo general a Conſternation, came to the Palace, deſiring the King to ſend Embaſſadors to the Cavalry, to bring affairs to a happier concluſion, and to lay aſide all Animoſities. The King, according to their deſire, ſent one *Pitias*, a *Theſſalian*,

*lian*, *Amiſſas*, a *Megapolitan*, and *Perilaus*, who when they had delivered their Meſſage, received Anſwer, That the Horſe-men would not lay down their Arms, till the King ſhould ſurrender the Authors of the Mutiny. When this Anſwer was brought, the Souldiers ſtrait fell to their Arms. The King ſtartled at the Tumult, came out to them, telling them, there was no need of Sedition: *For*, ſaid he, *this is the way to make lookers on ſeize on that you both contend for. Remember, Souldiers, we are to deal with Citizens and Country-men, who are to be work'd upon by gentle means, leſt you be the Author of a Civil War. The beſt expedient I can deviſe, is to try if they are to be mitigated with a ſecond Embaſſage. For ſure*, ſaid he, *they will not be ſo refractory, as not to attend at the Funeral Solemnities of their late Monarch. As for me, I had rather be no King at all, than to have my Authority maintain'd by the expence of my Subjects lives: And if this is the only way to gain a Peace, my only Requeſt, not Command, is, that you would chooſe another Sovereign.* Upon this, letting fall a ſhower of Tears, he unbound his Diadem, holding it forth with his Hand for any one to accept that ſuppoſed himſelf more deſerving. The luſtre of his Brothers Glory had ſo obſcur'd the King's, that till this day, the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition and moderation were ſcarce diſcernable. But this mildneſs ſo took with the Souldiers, that they with one voice deſired him to uſe his own meaſures in the Affair. Upon this, he ſent Embaſſadors again, deſiring that they would let *Meleager* be the third Captain in the Army. This they eaſily condeſcended to; for *Perdiccas*'s deſign was, to remove *Meleager* from his intimacy with the King; and he was ſatisfied, that two ſo

Potent

Potent Enemies would be too great odds. Therefore *Perdiccas* riding before the Cavalry, met *Meleager* at the Head of the *Phalanx*, and both Armies kindly entertained each other; ſo that a firm and laſting Peace ſeem'd confirm'd betwixt them.

But now by the Decree of Fate the *Macedonian* Empire was to feel the Convulſions of a Civil War: For it was of it ſelf too great for any ſingle Perſon to hope for, but yet was aim'd at by ſeveral Competitors, each one not bearing a Rival in his Glory. Firſt, they muſtered up together all the Forces they could poſſibly; and then again were forced to diſperſe them: For the Body ſwelling to too great a bulk, by the addition of ſo unproportionable Members, the whole was ſenſibly weakened. And that Kingdom which was propt up by one, was pull'd down inſtead of being ſupported by many.

Upon this ſcore the *Romans* may with great reaſon acknowledge themſelves infinitely obliged to their Prince, who in the general Night of the declining Government, like ſome illuſtrious Star ſhines forth, and rejoyces the dejected hearts of his diſconſolate Subjects. 'Tis he, and not the Sun, who influences the World; for what were the Members in all probability like to have come to, had they been deſtitute of ſo prudent and auſpicious a Head? How great Combuſtions has he appeaſed? How many angry Weapons has he put up, which otherwiſe had bloodily been ſheath'd in their own Bowels? What a dark Tempeſt did he end in a moſt delightful Calm? ſo that the dying hopes of the Kingdom are not only by this means refreſh'd, but elevated beyond belief: And our Petition to the Gods is this, that the

Empire

Empire may be happy and flouriſhing; and that the ſame Family, if not for ever, yet for a long Poſterity, may enjoy it.

But to return to the Subject from which the contemplation of our Happineſs has made me not unwillingly a little digreſs. *Perdiccas* placed the chief hopes of his Happineſs in the deſtruction of *Meleager*, whom he found to be a man of no Conduct, and leſs Fidelity; a ſtudious promoter of Sedition, as well as his inveterate Enemy: On this account he thought fit with all poſſible ſubtilty to diſpatch him, but ſuppoſed it was his moſt convenient courſe, to make uſe of diſſimulation, by which he might attain his deſigns, ere his Enemy had time to ſtand upon his Guard. To that end, he privately ſuborned ſome of the Souldiers who were under his Command, to ſpread abroad (but at their peril not to mention himſelf as concerned in the buſineſs) that *Meleager* was *Perdiccas*'s Rival. This ſoon came to *Meleager*'s ear, and he being tranſported with vehement Paſſion, goes directly to *Perdiccas*, and recounts to him the whole Relation. He, as if he had been ſurprized with the unexpectedneſs of the Accident, fell into a deep Admiration, and ſeem'd paſſionately concern'd at the Rumour. His final Reſolution was, to take hold of thoſe that ſpread ſo dangerous a Report. *Meleager* upon this acknowledged himſelf indebted in the higheſt nature, and embracing *Perdiccas*, told him, he ſhould never be able to requite the Obligation. They both conſulted how they might lay hold on the Authors of the Scandal, and agree to purge the Army, according to their Native Cuſtom; and the diſcords which had lately been rais'd, ſeem'd a ſufficient Reaſon for the

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Ceremony. The *Macedonian* Kings performed these Rites after this manner. They divided a Bitch into two parts, and each side of the Army threw half the Entrails from them; which sides of the Army were composed by the Cavalry on one part, and the *Phalanx* on the other. Therefore upon the day appointed for the Solemnity, the King with his Horse and Elephants stood just opposite to the Foot, whom *Meleager* commanded, then the Cavalry began to move forward, and the Foot being somewhat fearful, and conscious how ill they had merited by their late Mutinies, began to debate, whether they should retire into the City, for they saw the Horse had the advantage of a Champain; but then on the other side, supposing this might look as if they suspected the Fidelity of their fellow Souldiers, they stirred not a foot from their ground, resolutely determining to fight it out, if the Horse should offer any violence. Both sides met, and there was a small interval between. The King with one Wing began to surround the Foot, demanding, at the instance of *Perdiccas*, the Authors of the Mutiny, to be punisht, whom he ought rather to have defended, and threatned upon their refusal to trample them down with his Horse and Elephants. The Foot were surprised with so unexpected a danger: And *Meleager* himself had neither Policy nor Courage left in him. But all thought it the best way, rather to expect than meet their Fate. *Perdiccas* observing them to stand in amaze, selected 300 out of the main Body, who followed *Meleager* when he first broach'd the Sedition, and threw them to the mercy of the Elephants, in the sight of the whole Army, who were instantly trampled to death. The King all

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the while neither approving nor reproving the deed, but was resolved to order his proceedings according to the success of the Action. This was the first ill Omen and beginning of all the Civil Wars of the *Macedonians*: *Meleager* having too late understood the fraud of *Perdiccas*, yet perceiving no violence as yet was offered to him, stood still in the Army; but at last despairing of his safety, seeing that name and person of the King whom himself had been so instrumental in creating, made the pretext and instrument of his ruine, he took sanctuary in a Temple; But the Reverence due to the place, prov'd to him a very ineffectual security, for he lost his life there where he thought to save it.

*Perdiccas* bringing back the Army into the City, called a Council of War, consisting of the chief Nobility, in which they agreed to divide the Empire of the World: The King was to be acknowledg'd supream Monarch, *Ptolomæus* was appointed Governour of *Egypt* and *Africa*, which already were his Provinces, *Laomedon* had *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, *Philotas* got *Cilicia*, *Antigonus* obtain'd *Lycia*, *Pamphilia* and the greater *Phrygia*, *Cassander* was sent to *Cana*, *Menander* into *Lydia*, *Leonatus* for his Province received *Phrygia* minor that lies by the *Hellespont*, *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* fell to *Eumenes*, to whom they gave order to defend the Region as far as *Trapezum*, and to wage War with *Arbates*; but this last was the only Captain that refus'd his Province: *Python* had *Media*; *Lysmachus*, *Thrace*, and the Territories of *Pontus* that are adjacent to *Thrace*: And they farther ordered, that whoever was over the *Indians*, *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, and other Inhabitants bordering upon the Ocean and the Red Sea, should

ſhould ſtill continue in their Places: As for *Perdiccas*, they decreed he ſhould be with the King, and be General of his Forces. Some believe, that *Alexander* by his Will had ordered how the Provinces ſhould be diſpoſed of; which Report, though delivered by ſeveral Authors, we can affirm to be notoriouſly falſe.

And now this Diviſion might have been a cauſe of future Tranquillity, were it poſſible for men to be able to bridle their ambitious deſires; but they ſoon leapt over their allotted bounds: for what we have, does ſtill ſeem leſs than in reality it is, when there is ſomething greater before our eyes to ſtir up our hopes, and enflame our deſire. The Kings body for ſeven days lay unburied, ſo buſie they had been to ſettle the affairs of the Kingdom, that they had no leiſure to perform ſo mournful a Solemnity: which ſtill appears ſtranger, if we conſider that *Meſopotamia* is one of the hotteſt Regions in the World; ſo that it deſtroys ſeveral Creatures that creep upon the ground; things are ſcorcht, and receive as much damage there by the Sun, as by the Fire. There are very few Springs, and thoſe too are concealed by the policy of the Inhabitants, who will let no body receive the benefit of them, but themſelves.

When therefore they came to look upon the Corps, they who entered in firſt, found it was not only untainted, but without the leaſt mark of corruption, and his countenance lookt as chearful as if he had been ſtill alive: therefore the ſuperſtitious *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*, who came to embalm his body, durſt not a great while touch it, thinking him alive. At laſt, craving his pardon for the boldneſs of Mortals, they

washed his body, and filled it with sweet Odours, then placed him in a Golden Throne, and set the Imperial Crown upon his head. It was the general opinion that he was poysoned, and that *Antipater*'s Son *Jollas*, who attended on him at the instance of his Father, had procured him a Dose. That which makes this probable, was, that *Alexander* was frequently heard to say, that *Antipater* had a mind to be King; that he was too great for a Deputy; that being puft up with his Victory over the *Spartans*, he scorned to own a Superiour. Some think he was dispatcht by *Craterus* with a Band of old Souldiers.

Indeed the force of the *Macedonian* Poyson is wonderful, it is so strong, it eats through Iron, and can only be contained in a Horses Hoof, the Fountain from whence it flows is called *Styx*. Some of this, it seems, was brought by *Cassander* and delivered to *Jollas*, and by him given to the King in a Potion: But all these Reports were soon husht up by the Authority of the Grandees. *Antipater* soon after invaded *Macedonia* and *Greece*, which his Son after him enjoyed, destroying all those that were any way related to *Alexander*. But *Ptolomy*, King of *Egypt*, carried *Alexander*'s Body to *Memphis*, and a few years after conveyed it to *Alexandria*, where his Memory and Glory is still famous and celebrated.

FINIS.